THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

April 23, 1949

TAIWAN TRAP

AN EDITORIAL

Peiping Rickshaw Boy

Frank Robertson

Letter From Peiping

YMCA Worker

Put The Blame On Joe

Andrew Roth

AN ILL-ADVISED OLD MAN

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 113 GY30,000 NUMBER 8

1870

BFG

B.F.Goodrich

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Don't Send Arms

To The Editor:

We, a group of students ill with tuberculosis, feel bitterly sorry to learn that a new military aid bill to China is now being discussed by American congressmen. What China needs now is not war but peace, not arms to kill our people but food, medicine and machinery to reconstruct our ruined country.

Take us, for example. Long subjected to overwork, malnutrition and bad surroundings, we have fallen victim to TB. An X-ray examination at our school last year showed that 17 out of every 40 students had contracted tuberculosis. We are now confined to our beds and unable to afford medical treatment. Our only hope is for the war to come to an end so that we can have better living conditions.

Peace now seems to be in sight for China. We Chinese people would be very much obliged if the Americans would send something to improve our livelihood, not foster the war.

C. L. YIN.

Chengtu, Szechuen
March 22, 1949

Mental Development

To The Editor:

Both my husband and I are ardent students of the English language. I have made some progress through reading books and the assistance of my husband. But we find it very difficult to improve our English because we have no English or American friends with whom we can practice. Consequently we long to have a radio of our own so as to listen to the English broadcasts.

Although we have taught for more than 10 years, we still cannot afford to buy a radio due to our very low pay. Government officials, who have accumulated vast amounts of money through squeezing and embezzlement, waste their money in unproductive or harmful activities. Why should there be such a difference?

Compared with the plight of the poor masses who are compelled to live on the verge of starvation, our deprivation is nothing. However, it indicates how the present Government impedes the people's mental and physical development. We can safely say that any form of government succeeding this one will be better, especially if it is a coalition government whose policies are based on the interests of the people.

LIU LING.

Hoiping, Kwangtung
April 10, 1949.

New Zealand Reader

To The Editor:

The arrival of your *Review* has always been looked forward to. Without it, the Communist victory in China would have seemed irrational, as the National Party there has always been justified in the press here as the victor. The treatment of the students by the Nationalists was read with a reluctance to believe

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that such could come out of the part of China backed by the USA. Maybe in the past years we have been fed too much on the romantic side of that ancient race.

The long spell of Civil War in China seems to be coming to an end with the Communist type of government ruling, with which the USA, due to their support of the opposite party, will not be in favor. How will this leave relations between USA, Japan, China and the USSR? Will not Japan have to resort to violent expansion in the next few years due to her population question? The possession of Hongkong will no doubt not be questioned by the Communists till, in the control of a foreign power, it is not useful to them.

The relations of Tibet and inland China to the Communists will be interesting, remembering that Tibet is near nowadays due to air traffic. The mineral possibilities of the area will be likely to be wanted by more than one foreign power.

I look forward to seeing the people in China one day becoming a most influential factor in this world. With their resources of population and land, allied to their ideals of peace, they may make a useful addition to civilization. Or will it be that, learning the western sciences, they will be seized with that superior war complex that has in the past gripped the Christian peoples?

It must be of satisfaction to you to now find that your *Review* has not stood in the way of progress in China.

May I in conclusion suggest that a stronger wrapping paper would probably save the *Review* arriving here with split wrappers. Evidently in the overseas mails it gets rough handling.

M. G. E.

Taumarunui, New Zealand
March 14, 1949

Christian Missions

To The Editor:

After reading the article "Christian Missions in China" (*Review* April 2, 1949) I feel bound to express myself candidly for the highest good of the Christian religion and the Christian missions in China. I know definitely that the Christian missions in China have entirely forgotten the lessons of the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 and the KMT revolution in 1927, both of which earmarked them as the fore-runners of imperialism.

In my letter of February 19, I unsparingly castigated the ponderously ignorant views on Communism and on the conditions in China of two oldtime missionaries: Dr. Edward H. Hume and Rev. Thomas O'Melia, and predicted the eventual downfall of the Christian Missions in China. China missionary Walter Judd and China-born, son of missionaries, Henry Luce have been so imperialistically foolish as to wish their government to initiate a Pacific Security Pact similar to the Atlantic Security Pact as a defense against Communism.

The anonymous writer of "Christian Missions in China," being a thorough-bred Christian who knows the ins and outs of the same, pointed out the present Christian missions' ignorance of the trend of events in China, their failure to see its historical perspective, and their complacent satisfaction with the existing order.

The Christian Missions in China will either be uprooted by the coming new regime or another Martin Luther reformation will be started for the separation of religion from the state.

CHINESE JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Chengtu
April 9, 1949

Corrections

To The Editor:

As a faithful reader of your unbiased periodical, I read its issues very carefully and found in the March 26th issue some errors in Mr. Galahad Wood's article entitled: "Political Tides in Yunnan."

It is understood that An En-pu, the new Commissioner of Civil Affairs, escaped capture following the retreat from Hsuchow during the war when he fought against the Japanese at Taierchuang in Shantung and not when "following the Nationalist retreat from Hsuchow."

Wan Pao-pang is a great landlord in Ping-bian hsien (not Mentze) in the south of China. As far as I know, he was a member of the Democratic League in Kunming during the war, responsible for military organization prior to the Central Government's outlawing of the League, and is now the Commander of the People's Democratic Self-Guard Army (in charge of Yunnan and Szechuen) of the Revolutionary Committee of San Min Chu I.

At the beginning of March, Mr. Hsu Yun-hsien was the magistrate of Shytzung hsien. (The *Review* omitted the name of the hsien.) Hsu announced that he had "liberated" his hsien in compliance with the wishes of the people. The story about the people taking over administration happened in Yenshing hsien not Yen-hsing hsien.

Along the Red River, Hsu Ling Sun captured a number of hsiens, including: Yuan-kiang, Mei-kiang, Fu-hai and Chen-yuan (not Fenyuan) and the others.

On Feb. 19, the "bandits" attacked the dynamo electrical factory of the Kun Fu Electrical Corporation located about 35 miles from Kunming (not a few miles from Kunming), causing all the lights in Kunming to be cut off.

Since Mr. Wood's story appeared, several hsien, including Lunan (along the Indo-China railway), Mean-ling, Yun-hsien, Shuen-ling, Chong-ling, and Men-hwa in the west have fallen into the hands of the "bandits." At the present writing, they are reported to have attacked the city of Pao-shan on the border of Burma and Hsiakuan, an important commercial center in the west.

A FAITHFUL REPORTER

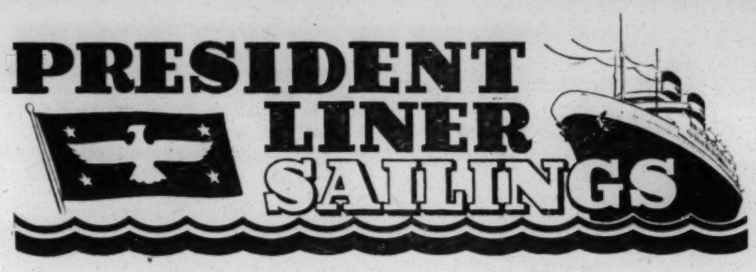
Kunming, Yunnan
April 8, 1949

Amoy Outrage

To The Editor:

About a month ago, 600 students, 800 teachers, officers and their families from the Tsingtao Naval College arrived on this island. Finding their accommodations inadequate, they proceeded to commandeer the Amoy Engineering School, forcing this school to move to the outskirts of the city. Still they did not have enough space, so on the morning of March 20, a large number of armed naval students, packed in vehicles, made their way to the Subordinate Primary School of the National Immigrant Teachers' Institution. As it was Sunday, the school was under lock and key. The naval students stationed guards outside and placed two machine-guns at the front gate. Then they forced their way in and dumped all the school's property into the courtyard.

The next day the young students of the primary school petitioned the mayor, but with no result. They were forced to hold their classes out of doors. Cultural circles in Amoy organized a committee to help them and on March 24 representatives from the Committee and the municipality reached the following agreement: 1) The premises of the municipal kindergarten and three mov-



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able houses are to be allocated to the Primary School; 2) The installation of the movable houses and money for repairs are to be undertaken by the Tsingtao Naval College.

This is not regarded as a satisfactory solution, but we are determined that the school, which is the best in the city, shall not be closed.

P. F. W.

Amoy, Fukien
March 29, 1949

School Seizure

To The Editor:

A disinterested onlooker usually wonders how and why in spite of the superiority of the military forces—land, sea and air—at the command of the Chinese Central Government, it is steadily losing the fight against the Chinese Communists in the present Civil War. He has not far to go to discover the reasons, which are many.

The present Central Government forces are lacking in discipline; they are independent, a law unto themselves, usually bullying people wherever they go and making it a practice to antagonize the local populace.

We have now in Amoy a detestable example of the Chinese Naval School officers seizing the buildings of a small primary school and keeping school children from attending their classes by placing sentinels armed with rifles and fixed bayonets and machine guns at the school gate. Even the Japanese military forces at their ugliest and worst had nothing to compare with this despicable display of arms against small and defenseless school children. Just because the Naval School, which has fled from Tsingtao to Amoy, needs buildings, can it take buildings wherever it finds them, whether occupied or not and against the wishes of the tenants?

These ousted school children are now studying in an open space sitting on the ground exposed to the mercy of the elements which in comparison to the officers are kinder.

The decision of the Amoy mayor to give these buildings to the Naval School is a striking example of how civilian officials usually give in to the display of might.

The local populace is loud in its protest and unless the high central military authorities take immediate reprimandary action against the naval officers concerned, there are bound to be repercussions detrimental to the interests of the present government.

DISGUSTED ONLOOKER

Amoy, Fukien
April 3, 1949

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Praises Soldiers

To The Editor:

Our country has been continually drifting into a more and more critical situation since VJ Day. The Central Government is now almost entirely dependent upon foreign loans. The great danger of the Chinese Republic lies in the fact that the foreign powers are gaining more and more economic control over China as her creditors. This dangerous situation must be remedied.

A great many of the *Review's* readers have expressed doubt as to the ability of the Nationalist troops, although better equipped than the Communist Party troops, to defeat their enemy. This, in my opinion, is due to the simple reason that the Government troops know nothing about military discipline, nor the use of modern weapons.

"Good men will not become soldiers, just as good iron is not to be turned into nails." This proverb came to us from our forefathers. The result was that in ancient China troops were mostly composed of vagabonds, who knew nothing but to kill and be killed for the sake of being paid. Consequently, how could they fight successfully on the battlefield?

"A good man will not become a soldier" is no longer believed in modern China. China now is a republic and her government formed by the people and for the people. The people should therefore cooperate for the defense of their nation against invaders or rebels. To be a soldier is, therefore, one of the ways of doing the duties which a citizen owes to his own country.

J. S. CHEN.

Yenchow, Chekiang
April 4, 1949

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Hunan Revolt

To The Editor:

The revolt some weeks ago by the armed forces stationed at Dayung, Mayang, Yuanlin, Shenki and other localities around Hsiangsi has caused a sensation in Hunan.

Careful observers feel the incident is a direct result of the poor administration of General Li Mo-an, commander of the 17th Pacification Headquarters in Hunan. Although the rebellion at Yuanlin, which was headed by Colonel Tsao Chen-ya and Colonel Wong Yuan-hwa, has been put down and the two leaders promised a promotion if they will promise to be loyal to the Government, no agreement has been reached yet with the other factions in the revolt.

What bothers General Li most is the possibility that other armed forces under his control may follow suit. There have been recent rumors that another force under his command is planning to rebel in the name of an "anti-oppression" movement.

While the situation as seen from here remains confused, it is generally believed that if the matter is not settled soon, there will be a tendency for this rebellion to spread throughout the entire province, in which case General Li would be held responsible. It is felt that he has consistently placed his personal interests above everything else since he assumed office as head of the 17th Pacification Headquarters. He is very much interested in setting up an influential sphere in the western part of Hunan and has been training a number of political workers for this purpose. Their work, however, is limited to writing watch-words on the walls and is of no practical value. However, General Li himself is blind to this fact and pays attention only to collecting other people's arms for his own use and trying by every means to bring all local armed forces under his control in order to solidify his own position in Hunan.

Now, with the situation deteriorating, it is reported that he has tendered his resignation to Governor Chen Chien, who has backed him up strongly in the past, and suggested that the Pacification Headquarters be abolished. This move is generally regarded as a political gesture and Governor Chen has expressed his unwillingness to allow it.

However, as the people of Hunan have no confidence in General Li, it would seem useless for him to continue his administration in Hsiangsi.

WHIMER LI

Lihsien, Hunan
March 24, 1949

Pay Day

To The Editor:

The following incident is typical of the miserable life of university professors during these inflation-ridden days.

Payday at the university is always a time of confusion. Our university has

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a teaching staff of 700 and other employees total slightly more than that. On pay day they always appear punctually.

Last week on pay day, people kept streaming into the Treasurer's office to find out whether their pay was ready. Finally, the Central Bank notified the university that it could not cash university checks because of the cash shortage. Everyone was furious because the value of GY depreciates each day and the Bank's action meant a great loss to the holders of paychecks.

The exasperated staff members therefore went to the bank. The bank manager explained that it was not his fault since the Central Bank in Shanghai did not have enough notes to meet the increasing demand. Finally, he agreed to cash the checks in installments.

Later, when the pay was given out, there was pandemonium in the Treasurer's office. Everyone tried to get his pay as soon as possible and rush out to buy silver dollars before the price went up. One professor dismissed his class so that he could go out to buy silver. Some professors even took rickshaws to get to the silver market, thinking they could save money by getting there faster.

One faculty member asked me to accompany him to the market. When he was delayed and I could wait no longer, I went on without him. At supper time the news reached me that the police, seeing a large crowd of buyers descend on the market, had arrested two professors, thinking them to be members of the Yellow Ox gang. One of the two was the man who had asked me to wait and accompany him! The terrible thought struck me: when he asked me to wait for him a little longer, what if I had said "Yes"?

L. T. R.

Hangchow, Chekiang
March 29, 1949

Chinese Officials

To The Editor:

As long as corruption and inefficiency are in existence in this country, further American aid is simply a waste.

Corruption is unavoidable in Chinese official circles, because the Chinese traditional motive for becoming an official has long been indicated in Chinese history by four characters升官發財, which when translated mean: "Get rich quick—promotion." This has represented the aim of every Chinese official; there is no sense of public service connected with becoming an official, although these men are all experts at drafting splendid regulations which attract foreigners trained in Western thought.

Such Americans as Marshall, Wedemeyer, former Ambassador Hurley and a number of other distinguished Americans thought that frank and sincere criticism might help these officials to reform, and on the basis of their friendship for China these gentlemen did criticize conditions, relegating diplomatic courtesy to second place in the interests of China. As a matter of fact, Chinese officials do not deserve diplomatic courtesy, for they are shameless.

Three Chinese characters—推托賴'—help explain the mentality of these officials. Translated they mean, "Refuse, excuse and drag." Should a person with no background approach these officials for a settlement of some matter, he would not hear such words as, "What can I do for you?"

PAUL YU

Shanghai
March 31, 1949

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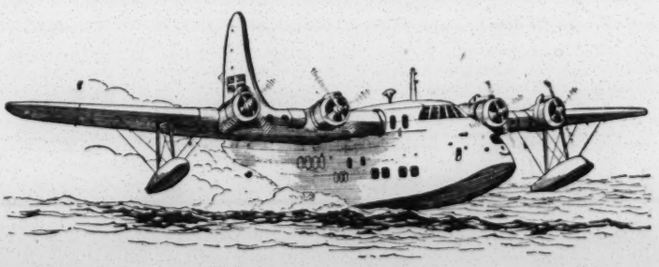

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Vol. 113 Shanghai, Saturday, April 23, 1949 No. 8

Taiwan Trap

THE question as to the future status of Taiwan is being raised with increasing frequency these days and those who favor the island's separation from a Communist-dominated China are busy laying a trap which they hope will snare the United States and thus secure American support for this mad scheme.

The movement to separate Taiwan from China began a long time ago, but it has been only in recent months that it has attained sufficient force to cause concern. We commented upon this in the January 29 issue of the *Review*, pointing out that the plan was morally, legally, and logically unsound, but that the extent and power of the vested interests behind it was of such strength that the future status of the island might be in doubt.

Since then the movement has grown and has had considerable publicity in the press, both here and abroad. At the present time the United States, without whose assistance such a scheme would automatically fail, is apparently still wavering in its attitude. America is committed to the idea of Taiwan being an integral part of China. However, America is very worried about communism and is not at all pleased at the prospect of Taiwan falling under domination of a Chinese Communist regime which, presumably, could use the island for naval and air bases to challenge American control of the China seas.

It is in this setting in America that the proponents and opponents of an autonomous Taiwan are battling. A few recent headlines appearing in the local English-language press provide an outline of the controversy: "Formosa Not Suitable As A Base For Chiang", "Interior Secretary Says No Pacific Areas Annexed By US", "Value of Formosa", "US Expected To Raise Point On Taiwan Status Shortly", "Disposal of Formosa Subject To Peace Pact."

Russell H. Fifield, assistant professor of political science at the University of Michigan and a former US vice-consul in Taiwan, recently wrote in the *Foreign Policy Bulletin* that Taiwan was not suitable as a comeback base for Generalissimo Chiang. However, Fifield stated, "The only prospect for a successful defense of Formosa by a refugee Chiang Kai-shek government would lie in integration of the island for the American defense system in the Western Pacific. South of Formosa the US has bases .... in the Philippines; north of Formosa the US occupies Okinawa in the Ryukyus and Japan.

"The Philippines, Formosa, the Ryukyus, and Japan form an island chain that guards the sea and air approaches to the mainland of Eastern Asia. Communist bases in Formosa—an important link in this chain—might not be to the national interest of the United States. All the powers interested in the Far East are certain to watch events in Formosa with great interest during these crucial days."

In commenting editorially upon this article, the local *North China Daily News* recalled the days when Koxinga used Taiwan as his base for harassing the Manchus at the close of the Ming Dynasty. In conclusion the *North China* said: "Formosa is an admirable base for such marauding operations and under able administration could be made absolutely self-supporting."

On April 6, the *United Press*, which, incidentally, has been the main medium for dissemination of autonomous Taiwan statements and articles, reported in part from Nanking: "A high Chinese source told the *UP* today that Nationalist officials see likelihood of the US raising the question of the legal status of Taiwan in view of possible Communist demands on control of the island in the peace negotiations.... He said (some) American officials indicated that Taiwan is included in the American defense system and the US Government would like to see it held by friendly forces. He said they also indicated, if the Communists demanded control of the island, the US Government may be compelled to maintain officially that the island prior to conclusion of the Japanese peace treaty is still an 'occupation zone' and therefore not an internal issue for disposal between Nationalists and Communists."

On April 15, the *United Press* reported from Washington: "State Department spokesman Michael McDermott said today final disposition of Formosa must await the peace treaty with Japan. McDermott commented when a reporter drew his attention to the fact that a newspaper columnist had said the United States may be forced either to claim ownership of Formosa or face the possibility of it falling into the hands of China's Communists."

From the foregoing quotations it can be seen that certain people, both in China and America, are worried about the future of Taiwan. Obviously, Nanking's die-hards, faced with a Communist success in China, would do anything to preserve a convenient base from which they could prepare for a comeback or, in the words of the *North China*, carry out "marauding operations." It is equally obvious that certain circles in Washington have become so engrossed in establishing American "defense" outposts in the far reaches of the world that they—like Hitler's geopoliticians

"YOU WOULDN'T THINK IT WAS THE SAME GAL"

Knott in Dallas Morning News.

—view with alarm the occupation, legally or illegally, of any territory anywhere on the globe by any power which might possibly be considered "unfriendly."

It will be a sad day indeed if the United States actually interferes in the affairs of Taiwan. Not only would such a move constitute a thinly-disguised violation of its treaty commitments, but it would alienate America from the other nations of the Pacific.

Our Air-minded Congressmen

Senator Ralph Flanders (Republican from Vermont) suggested to the Senate today that the United States send guided missiles over the Soviet Union to shower down handbills and peace pamphlets to the Russian people.—*Reuter* dispatch from Washington on April 13.

Representative Clarence Cannon (Democrat from Missouri) asserted today in the House of Representatives that the United States Airforce bombers would have to deliver the atom bomb to Moscow within three weeks of the outbreak of war with Russia.—*Reuter* dispatch from Washington on April 13.

It appears that both Houses of Congress are rapidly becoming air-minded and are in agreement on the choice of a destination, despite minor differences about just what should be delivered.

An Ill-Advised Old Man

GENERAL MACARTHUR'S headquarters last week released to the Japanese press the full text of its report on an alleged prewar Russian spy ring in Japan, the publication of which in the United States last February raised a great deal of protest. The Army Department in Washington finally had to admit that publication of the report, which was based largely on "evidence" secured from the war-time files of the Japanese secret police, was a "blunder."

This sensational report, compiled after the end of the war by MacArthur's intelligence officers who found the files of the Japanese Kempeitai after VJ Day, was for one reason or another presumably kept on MacArthur's desk for about three years. Then it was dusted off and sent to Washington where the Department of the Army, perhaps as hysterical about the "Red menace" as some of the Congressional witch hunters, released it to the American press. While the reaction of the public was mixed, it was pointed out that the charges against two correspondents in the report were without supporting evidence. One of the correspondents, Agnes Smedley, threatened to sue General MacArthur and the Secretary of the Army. The Army finally admitted that publication of the report was a public relations blunder.

There were several things wrong with the report. In the first place, the evidence was taken from Japanese secret police files. None, so far as we know, of the principals allegedly involved were questioned personally. Thus, General MacArthur put himself in the position of accepting without question the statements of people, some of them most likely obtained under torture, and recorded by the secret police of a nation with whom we were at that time fighting. A thorough perusal of the "report" further revealed that even the original documents themselves did not contain material justifying the sensational preface written by General MacArthur or his aides. While there were many other shortcomings, some of which we discussed in an editorial in the February 19 issue of the *Review*, these were the main points.

At the time of the original release of the story in America, there were some raised eyebrows over the timing of the announcement. Since the alleged spying was being done at a time when Russia was our active ally in the war in Europe and a silent helper in the East, some observers felt that even if the whole story were true, it was nothing for America to get excited about. Actually, the story was known to American correspondents shortly after the Japanese surrender, but no one felt that it was a very "good" story. First, it probably was largely untrue, and, second, it merely purported to recount the espionage activities of one of our allies. However, three years later, with relations between the East and West strained, this story fitted in nicely with the activities of the rumor-mongering boys in Washington who are trying to scare the American people into a home-made concentration camp.

Now, General MacArthur has seen fit to release this already discredited report to the Japanese press. We believe we are fully justified in asking him just what are his motives. After the story fell flat in America and MacArthur was threatened with a personal libel suit by Miss Smedley, he avoided responsibility by letting his chief intelligence officer, Maj.-Gen. Charles A.

Willoughby, claim full responsibility for preparation of the report. Willoughby is, according to press dispatches appearing locally, responsible for this latest move. However, it seems obvious that none of the General's subordinates, and certainly not a man as important as Willoughby, could be dumb enough to repeat an action which had previously put SCAP in trouble unless the matter had been cleared with the boss.

General MacArthur must assume full responsibility for this action. We fail to see what possible reasonable excuse he can give to indicate that his motives were upright and above board. The re-release of an already criticized report, which, in fact, had been repudiated by MacArthur's own superiors, is indeed difficult to explain.

Some observers hinted that the original idea was to get the report in front of the Japanese people before the last general elections in the hope of discrediting the Japanese Communist Party. That time is now past, and the Communists have already made considerable gains in the Diet. About the only explanation that comes readily to mind is that this is merely the latest in a whole series of foolishly stupid moves by a wilful and autocratic organization, unfortunately headed by an ill-advised old man.

Believe It Or Not!

Release of all political prisoners in Shanghai is expected to start within seven days under instructions of the Executive Yuan—*China Press*, April 15.

A batch of 20 prisoners convicted of political offenses were released on bail by the Ward Road Jail yesterday, following the Government order for release of political prisoners—*North China Daily News*, April 17.

Obviously, the age of miracles is not yet past.

Another Colonial Problem?

APPARENTLY all is not milk and honey in Puerto Rico, an island dependency of the United States which the latter secured as a prize of war following the defeat of Spain in 1898. According to a recent *Reuter* dispatch, a group of Puerto Ricans have petitioned the Inter-American Commission on Dependent Territories, asking for a hearing of their case for independence from the United States.

While the United States has a relatively good record—comparatively speaking, of course—as far as colonies and non-contiguous territories under its control are concerned, there are some interesting points in this Puerto Rican appeal, made by representatives of the Puerto Rican Independence and Puerto Rican Nationalist political parties. Perhaps the most interesting is that the United States is boycotting the session of the Commission which is meeting in Havana, Cuba.

Until recent years, the United States policy toward Puerto Rico was distinguishable mainly by its absence. The American president appointed a governor, maintained schools and sanitation organizations and that was about all. With little or no industry, the island suffered from chronic over-population and a certain amount of economic exploitation, largely by mainlanders who operated sugar plantations on the island. Under the late President Roosevelt a plan for improving conditions was drawn up and the Government began a program of trial and error. The first step taken toward solving the population problem was in 1937 when the Insular Government repealed a law which made dissemination of birth control literature a criminal offense.

What effect this rather ludicrous move has had is not known at this time, although it is evident that population pressure is great. The island, not all of which is suitable for agriculture, has a total of 3,435 square miles and a population of 1,869,225 in 1940. The population density is about 544 inhabitants per square mile, certainly one of the greatest concentrations of population in the world. This figure compares with 44.2 persons per square mile in the continental United States, and with an estimated 174 persons per square mile in China proper. Great Britain, one of the most heavily industrialized areas of the world, has a comparable density with 504.7 people per square mile, while Japan, which is generally considered to be one of the more heavily populated countries, has a lower ratio with 469 people per square mile. It is hardly necessary to point out that both Britain and Japan, where the density is not as great as in Puerto Rico, are well developed industrial nations, while the economy of Puerto Rico is still largely agrarian.

In recent years, especially since the end of the war, the Insular Government has gone all-

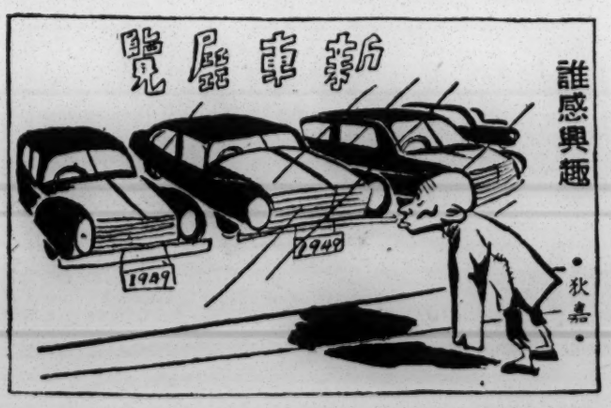
Mai Kan. (麥桿)

out in a campaign to induce American industrial concerns to take advantage of some of the island's resources, first of which is an adequate supply of cheap labor. Some success has been attained and there are an ever-growing number of factories establishing branch plants there. How much real value, aside from providing employment at low wages, this brings the island is not quite clear.

However, it would seem that the islanders, or at least some of them, are not too happy about their condition. One of the main objections, we would imagine, is that they have no vote and not very much voice in the administration which governs them. The governor is appointed by the American president. A resident commissioner in Washington is elected by the Puerto Ricans, but he has no vote in Congress although he does have a right to speak.

In Alaska, another territory, there are many of the same complaints. One heard most frequently there is that traders, manufacturers, and other mainland "exploiters" are free to come to Alaska and make as much as they can out of their ventures and then return to the mainland with all profits. If Alaska were a regular state in the Union, the state legislature could then pass laws and regulations imposing taxes on "out of state" enterprises which would force them to expend some of their profits in developing the area in which they were made.

While Alaska's campaign has been for statehood, the situation in Puerto Rico seems to be somewhat different in that there is apparently a move afoot for full independence. At this distance it is impossible for us to express an intelligent opinion as to whether independence or statehood would be preferable. However, it does seem that a change is needed. Perhaps feelings would be better all around if the US acted in a manner more befitting the self-styled leader of the world's democracies, rather than pursuing a policy which, according to the aforementioned press dispatch, resembles ones followed by some of the colonial powers in Asia. Certainly nothing is to be gained by boycotting a meeting being held by a legally established commission just because some members of the commission wish to discuss the actions and policies of another member. If this is to be the official American attitude, the next step is to declare the island a hot bed of communism and label all expressions favoring independence as insidious Moscow propaganda.



25 Years Ago in *The China Weekly Review*

April 19, 1924

Equality For The Sexes

For the first time in Peking, permission has been granted by the local police authorities for men and women to sit together in boxes in Chinese theaters. Hitherto, different sections were provided for these two sexes, with only one exception of a modern "movie" theater which is managed entirely on a foreign plan. However, women were still not allowed in the stalls, or orchestra, in Chinese theaters.

* * *

Practical Training For Students

Joseph Bailie, formerly connected with the College of Agriculture and Forestry of Nanking University but now engaged upon a plan of placing Chinese students in the United States in the various factories for practical training, has just written a letter to Professor Reisner of Nanking University stating that the 100 Chinese students now employed in the Ford Motor Car Company are making excellent progress and are giving satisfaction as are also a number of other students employed in the Allis-Chalmers factory, Worthington Pump Company, Chevrolet Motor Works and other industries. The Bacyrus Company, manufacturers of steam shovels, and Fairbanks, Morse and Company are also employing Chinese students on a part time basis, the remainder of their time being spent in college.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

April 22, 1939

Shanghai Rickshaw Pullers

Shanghai's ragged and exploited army of rickshaw pullers this week countered a demand by the owners of the vehicles for a 10 percent increase in rentals by themselves demanding a 10 percent reduction. Flatly rejecting the owners' demand, the pullers point out that the owners have not been as badly hit by rising costs as they make out, declaring that in the 20 months since the outbreak of hostilities here the owners have saved $11,400 monthly or more than $220,000 by having to pay no license fees in what were the Chinese-controlled sections of the city. The pullers also state that the owners have saddled them with minor repairs, thereby effecting a further saving.....

* * *

Madame Chiang Speaks

The following remarks are taken from an article by Madame Chiang Kai-shek, "More on the Seven Deadly Sins in China," from her "Resurgam" series.

"When our country really gets down to the business of setting its house in order it will not be long before we shall see our faces reflected in the polished surfaces of its furniture. It is the ambition to see those surfaces shine that has encouraged me to apply some elbow-grease to the wholesome swabbing out of the dirt, and to the exposure of the dark corners to the cold white light of publicity. It is not, of course, a savory business, and many would naturally prefer to do without the airing and the cleansing—but in the interests of honesty and progress and organization it must be done.

"We must have organization, and we can get it as soon as we have rid ourselves of some of the morally offensive cobwebs and garbage which have blinded our eyes and obstructed our social and official feet.

"Already I have appealed for the cleansing away of several pernicious customs, for the eradication of outstanding noxious evils, and for the extirpation of deleterious habits which assume in their effects the nature of sins. I said in the previous article that there were seven deadly ones. There are more, in reality. I dealt at some length with two of them, and there remain others for brief arraignment and condemnation.

"Cliquism is one of them. Cliques seem to hold sway in many places.....

Peiping Rickshaw Boy

Frank Robertson

(Christian Science Monitor Correspondent)

ALTHOUGH he is a cautious man, both by nature and by necessity, Wu Ting-feng, a rickshaw boy, was inclined to believe when I talked to him in Peiping a few weeks ago that life under the Chinese Communists would be kinder to him than it had been in the past.

Wu pointed out that it was still too early to pass judgment, and he was quick to admit that what opinions he had already formed of the new regime were based largely on one factor: the difference in the behavior of Peiping's black-uniformed police since the Communists occupied the city.

In Nationalist Peiping the police had played a big part in Wu's life. Sometimes they beat and cuffed him for no other reason than to gain face in the eyes of the onlookers. But worse than that, they frequently forced him to pay bribes that Wu could ill afford.

Accusing him of a traffic violation, a policeman would seize the cushioned seat from Wu's pedicab and tell him he could recover the seat from the nearest police station. Since Wu knew this meant losing half a day's earning time, he had no alternative but to pay the bribe the policeman demanded for returning the cushion on the spot.

When the Communists occupied Peiping, Wu found that the police improved beyond recognition. "It is like comparing heaven and earth," he said. Except for a few top officials who were relieved, the personnel of the police force remained the same under the Communists. But they were disarmed, and it was made very clear to the rank and file that they would have to behave.

Economic Tight-rope

Often, in the past, the money extorted from him by the police meant the difference between having enough to eat and going hungry. Like so many Chinese, Wu walks an economic tight-rope, striving to keep his balance from day to day in an unremitting struggle for survival.

On a good day, Wu makes about the equivalent of 60 cents American pedalling customers around the city. He pays 10 cents for the hire of his vehicle; it used to be higher, but the pedicab shop proprietors, apparently fearing they would be labelled exploiters, voluntarily lowered their rates when the Communists arrived.

Food for himself, his wife and her mother, who lives with them, in a tiny single room without plumbing, costs 35 cents a day. They cannot afford meat more than once a month, and their diet consists largely of cornflour, cabbage and salted turnips. The 15 cents remaining are stretched to cover rent and other household expenses. Wu has not had new clothes for a long, long time.

But some days, in spite of his zeal and energy—Wu is 30, and strong—he makes as little as 35 cents, and on those days he and his family do not get enough to eat, for there are no reserves to draw on.

Since the Communists had arrived in Peiping the price of cornflour—in terms of currency—had increased 10 times. This did not effect salaried workers, for they are paid in millet or flour, or its cash equivalent based on the current market price. But it had hit Wu hard, for he had not been able to increase his fares in proportion.

Communists And Pedicabs

Wu was very worried that the Communists might ban pedicabs, for he had heard that they frowned on this method of transportation as an offense to man's dignity. He had an opportunity to ask a Communist official about this.

On that day Wu was waiting for fares outside a government building the Communists had taken over—a practice he soon dropped, for he learned that Communists were not supposed to ride in pedicabs—when an official came out and stopped to chat with him.

The official asked Wu what he thought of Peiping now that it was being run by the Communists.

"Fine", Wu said, giving the answer demanded by Chinese politeness. Then, because he was very worried about his future, he added: "But it won't be fine if you get rid of the pedicabs."

The official explained why the Communists did not approve of this method of transportation, but assured him that his government had the welfare of the workers at heart. Since so many thousands depended on the pedicabs for a living in Peiping, he said, nothing would be done for a long time.

Wu felt better after this conversation, but he did not allow himself to be misled, for in his day-to-day struggle for survival he had learned to trust the words of no man. However, when two months passed and nothing was done, he began to believe that the Communist official had spoken the truth.

After the Communists had been in Peiping about one month, Wu learned that the pedicab boys were to be unionized. He attended a meeting that was addressed by a Communist labor union official, and even though this man said repeatedly that the union was being formed for the protection and benefit of the pedicab drivers, Wu was opposed to the idea instinctively.

"Tough guys will move in and get control, as they always do, and the union will become a racket," he said. "I can get along by myself, even though it's not easy. I don't want to get mixed up in a racket."

I explained that the union members could appeal to the government to stamp out racketeering. Wu smiled politely.

"Perhaps you don't understand, being a foreigner," he said, addressing me as though I were a child being shown a great truth. "There have always been rackets and there always will be. Even if the government people are not involved directly, there is nothing they can do about such things."

Wu realized that the Kuomintang regime had been corrupt, for he had seen it in his dealings with the police and other small officials with whom he had come in contact. But he had never worried about this, or felt indignant. It had always been that way in Peiping. He agreed that if the Communists could exorcize this corruption their government undoubtedly would be of greater benefit to the people of China. But he doubted that they could.

But even though the Kuomintang had been bad, Wu did not approve of the name-calling that was going on among the Communists and their followers.

Only the day before he had been riding past the Peiping National University when he had heard parading students denouncing Chiang Kai-shek as a bandit and demanding his head. Wu thought such behavior was wrong; to say the least, it was most impolite.

"I had only four years of school," he explained seriously. "These students have been in school a long time, and undoubtedly they have learned many things. I should have thought they would have been taught tolerance by now."

Too Early To Say

When I asked him if he thought that the people of Peiping would be better off under the Communists, Wu thought a minute, then said judiciously that it was hard to say; it was still too early, he repeated. Most people would not make up their minds until they learned whether their rice bowls would be fuller than before. He said there had not been much criticism yet among the people he lived with and met, but he felt that the people were afraid to talk critically of the new government, just as they had of the Nationalists.

There seemed to be quite a lot of unemployment in the city. Many people had sold their land in the surrounding country and taken refuge behind the massive, buttressed walls of Peiping to escape the war; and many factories were still closed. A lot of the unemployed had taken to driving pedicabs, making it harder for Wu to make a living.

Those who had jobs were better off, Wu thought, because they had a relatively stable wage for the first

time in years. Furthermore, laborers were entitled to permits to buy staple commodities from the government trading company, which sold below market prices.

On one point Wu was full of admiration for the Communists. He had never before seen anything like their army. He admired their discipline and bearing, and what he called their "sweet temper." Wu had had a lot of trouble with the Kuomintang troops. Often they refused to pay him, just as they rode streetcars and visited movie houses free of charge. People had been afraid to protest.

Like so much else, Wu had taken this for granted. If ever he had been conscripted, he said, undoubtedly he would have acted the same way; it was one of the few compensations for being forced into a fight that did not interest you.

When they first arrived, Communist troops had interceded in his behalf several times in disputes with the police. A number of Communist soldiers were billeted in the compound where Mr. Liu, who owned Wu's and many other pedicabs, had two rooms. Liu, who had been more friendly since the Communists arrived in Peiping, told Wu one day that the troops hadn't stolen anything from the compound, and the two men had agreed that this was remarkable. At the same time, they felt that the troops were rather lacking in initiative and intelligence to have passed up such fine opportunities.

Wise And Sophisticated

There was a tendency among the people of Peiping to look down on the Communists because they had not arrested more than one or two of their former enemies, and because, now that they were in a position of power, they still wore coarse, padded cotton uniforms. Even their leaders, who rode in big cars and lived at the foreign hotels, wore the same poor clothes, Wu had noticed.

Wu himself thought the Communists looked pretty silly when they danced in the streets during parades. The dance, called the *yang ke*, consisting of shuffling three steps forward then one back, is traditionally danced in the villages when the rice is transplanted, and is used symbolically by the Communists. This kind of thing was all right for the villages, Wu felt, but it was hardly the way to act in a city as wise and sophisticated as Peiping.

Wu still tends to think of Peiping as the center of the universe, and he said if the Communists could win over its citizens they would have no trouble with the rest of China.

"Peiping is like nowhere else in the world," he expounded seriously, although he never has been more than 10 miles from its walls. "You have to be shrewd and clever to get along in Peiping. Perhaps the Communists will be smart enough and perhaps they won't."

On the whole, as I said, Wu is inclined to favor the Communists. But he is not yet sure, and when he was leaving he asked me not to tell anyone in the city about our conversation.

"Gladly, if you'll do the same for me," I said, pointing to an impressive document signed by Yeh Chien-ying which I had pinned to the wall. It stated very specifically that I could not gather news.

"Ai-ya, that is very bad," Wu said, scowling. Before leaving he apologized to me on behalf of the people of Peiping.

Shanghai Sidelights

—X. Y. Zee—

The People's Money

INDICATIVE in a way of the growing influence of democracy in China, the Gold Yuan is now dubbed the people's money in Shanghai. The real reason for the highsounding appellation lies in the fact that the Kuomintang Government no longer accepts its own currency in the payment of custom duties, commodity taxes and even the wages of the military, and the bulk of such rejected printing press money is thrown upon the hands of the people.

It may be recalled that after the inauguration of the so-called currency reform last August Messrs. Wang Yun-wu, Chiang Ching-kuo & Co. attempted to maintain ceiling prices at the point of the bayonet and met with ignominious failure in less than two months. The reservation of the Gold Yuan for the people points to the same bayonet policy being followed in the recently announced reform program.

Never backed with any precious metal, the Gold Yuan is an outright fraud as well as a misnomer. Such is the consensus of opinion of the people. No bayonet can alter this. No bayonet has ever succeeded in holding in check dynamic economic forces.

* * *

Yellow Ox, Silver Ox

THE sobriquet Yellow Ox has been introduced here for the past two years to denote scalpers dealing in theater tickets or rationed articles at blackmarket rates. In these days of vicious inflation and skyrocketing prices one may be sure that this new type of bovine bipeds constitutes a considerable part of the local population.

More recently their rank has been greatly swelled by their cousins known as Silver Ox. These are now blocking the pavements of many thoroughfares, a small stack of silver dollars constantly tinkling in their palms, thus enhancing in no small measure the din and bustle of the great city. Day in, day out a thriving business in the metallic money is transacted, as nowadays people lose no time to get rid of their rapidly depreciating Gold Yuan and hastily buy in silver dollars or US currency to protect their small savings.

The city is swarming with both Yellow Ox and Silver Ox, including among them not a few in the garb of warriors. While this novel bovine species is ubiquitous, it is interesting to note that the price of beef here has climbed to the all-time high of GY100,000 a pound.

* * *

Spring Under War Clouds

SPRING is the time when, as the Chinese poet fondly writes, the willow puts forth its green and the peach blossom flaunts its pink. In Kiangnan, the area south of the great Yangtze, every field and every meadow now dons a garb of fresh and luxuriant green.

At this time of the year, the crowded and dusty city usually releases legions from cramped dwellings to outspread rural environs to breathe the fresh air and enjoy the vernal radiance. The Chinese countryside, still adorned here and there with an arched stone bridge over a winding stream or a towering pagoda by the side of a drowsy temple, yields a tranquilizing as well as exhilarating effect on a long-confined urban resident.

The sunshine of the delectable springtide this year, however, is marred by a pall of gathering war clouds. Many a verdant field in the suburbs of the city has been torn up, even sepulchral mounds not excepted, to make room for pillboxes and defense works, the building of which has been feverishly going on with the help of impressed peasants ever since the Hsuchow debacle last winter.

* * *

Mr. Mao, The Poet

MR. Mao Tze-tung, the No. 1 Chinese Communist, is expert in the art of versification, according to a member of the peace delegation which recently visited Shichiachwang. The informant, who declined to be identified, stated that the Red chief disclosed a great predilection for poetry and actually dashed off a number of stanzas in the course of the banquet in honor of the peace-makers. These verses are said to be in traditional Chinese meter.

During his childhood, it is understood, Mr. Mao was educated in an old Chinese school because his father planned to prepare him for the imperial examinations. As a Chinese scholar of the old school the Communist leader of course can compose poems, apart from being well-versed in the teachings of Confucius. His stock of erudition, contrary to popular belief, is by no means limited to *Das Kapital*.

Letter From Peiping

(This is the translation of a letter written recently by a YMCA worker in Peiping to some friends in this city—Editor.)

THIS morning I received a letter from two colleagues in Foochow which was posted on February 3. It took 34 days to reach here. That letter brought a lot of warmth to us and enabled us to hear the voice of our distant friends. Now, to make up for my neglect in the past, I will report to you on some of the conditions here.

I will begin with small things. Formerly, nobody dared to go out after six p.m. There was not a single light on the streets. If one went out, he was liable to be searched or robbed. After liberation, all the street lights came on the first night and the curfew was lifted.

That first evening, my wife and I went to see an opera called "Red Leaf River." It was staged by the People's Cultural Corps of the North China People's Government. The story is about how the rural people were emancipated. It was a combination of a play, an opera and the "yang go" dance. We really saw a healthy, forward-looking people's art. After the opera, on our way out, we noticed many young students, middle-aged women.... rubbing their eyes with handkerchiefs and saying to each other that this was the first time they had seen something closely related to themselves; we saw how rural people under feudalistic oppression are suffering and what it means for them "to turn the tables."

On our way home, we saw small groups of students on Chang An Street who had also just come out of the opera. They were singing, running, laughing, and shouting; they forgot the severity of the cold winds in winter nights. After a while, we saw trucks carrying singing workmen pass us. For the first time, I became deeply aware of the fact that we were truly freed and liberated. Students have sensed it all the more. When they walk, they also swing the "yang go." In Yenching, students swing the "yang go" during their morning exercises....

Liberation Day

On the day when the Liberation Army entered the city, it was a real sight. There were first the armed cars, then the motorized troops, then the tanks, then all kinds of cannons, then the cavalry, and finally two divisions of infantry. The procession started at 10:00 a.m. and did not finish until 3:00 p.m. There was a windstorm that day, but more than 200,000 hurried to the Chienmen Railway Station to greet the troops. The people on the sidewalks were singing and waving at the soldiers manning the tanks. They were asking each other whether those cannons were not manufactured in America....

After a couple of days, the people in the city all remarked on the good discipline of the Liberation Army. One friend told me that the soldiers who were quartered in his house helped to sweep the courtyard every day, and during their leisure time several would sit together to read the newspapers or to have discussion or self-criticism gatherings.

The Communist staff and soldiers are paid six catties of millet each month. Yet when they went to take over the Power Station at Shih Chin San, they decided to pay the staff and technicians their original salaries. After a while, the engineers and staff voluntarily asked for a salary reduction and for longer hours of work.

A son of one of my friends works there and is greatly thrilled. Every day when he comes home he discusses current events with his father and asks his father to learn and study. Following the advice of his son, the father went to the New China Bookstore and bought several books after standing in a queue for about an hour. Now we hear him also talking about the importance of study every day.

Schools Taken Over

Nearly all the Government institutions, enterprises and schools here have been taken over. Generally speaking, all the staff members of both high and low rank have kept their original positions and original salaries. They are working as usual, but the office hours have been shortened so that after 4:00 p.m. they may sit around and discuss Mao Tze-tung's "New Democracy." Mr. Hsu Pei-hung is still the president of the College of Fine Arts. On the day of the "taking over," he was moved to tears during the ceremony for he thought that he would surely be removed. The services of Mr. Shih Chih-jen, the former head of the Peiping-Tientsin Railway, also are still retained. The Communists have great respect for such technical men and pay them well.

All the national, provincial and municipal schools have been taken over and have now re-opened. In the private middle schools, the tuition charges are decided upon in a representative meeting of the teachers, students and servants. Approximately, it is two and a half bags of flour for senior middle schools and two bags for junior middle schools. With regard to curriculum, the reading of newspapers has taken the place of civics, boy-scouts and military training. School administration has been left alone. What we heard in the past about the Communists' forbidding the private schools to collect fees has proved to be a false rumor.

You must be wondering about prices here. Since we converted the Gold Yuan into Jen Min Ch'uan (generally, GY 10 may be changed into $1 Jen Min Ch'uan, but for workmen, students and government employees, the ratio is GY 3 to $1), prices have not increased. The reason is that the government has organized a Peiping Trading Company, providing huge supplies of food, oil, salt, coal and other daily necessities. Hence it is difficult for prices to go up. A friend of mine talked to a top officer of the Liberation Army who said that, before Tientsin and Peiping were liberated, they had stored up millions of tons of food in the Northeast Provinces and had mobilized trains, ox-carts wheelbarrows, donkeys and camels to transport them. (This is true as I have seen a lot of them on the streets.) That officer also said, "When we take a city, we must also take our responsibility." This has really been the case.

Religious Freedom

Concerning the churches, there has been no change up to now and everything is as usual. Dr. T. C. Chao has discussed with the Communists the question of religious freedom. Their answer was that there will certainly be religious freedom and that this will also later be guaranteed in the constitution. On the other hand, while freedom to believe in and practise region will be permitted, freedom to oppose religion will also be allowed. Each person may compete with the other in his own propaganda.

The pastors held a three-day retreat here to study the situation and to find out how to pay more attention to the practical work of social service. It is said that recently Dr. T. C. Chao, a Christian leader, has undergone a great change in his views. He believes that the new situation which now confronts us is a challenge to the Chinese Churches. If the churches should continue to depend on wealthy and influential people and not undertake any practical service toward men, moving only their lips to preach a lot of irrelevant things, they will soon be thrown overboard. But most of the pastors are not thinking along the same line, and their greatest concern is "how the pastors can get along after contributions from abroad are discontinued." The YMCA in the past has been in the same condition as that state now criticized by Dr. Chao. From now on, can we direct our eyes downward and merge ourselves with

the masses? Perhaps our ability to integrate ourselves with the people's needs will determine the future of the YMCA.

With regard to Student Work, the challenge we face is even greater. A Yenching girl student, who has been an earnest "inquirer" for several years and was originally preparing to be baptized during Easter, made a trip to Tientsin after the Liberation and was impressed by the morale and discipline of the Liberation Army. She was so moved that she said, "Formerly I believed that man can only change from evil to good with the power of Christ. But Chistians can only talk and do not act. Now the 'Eighth Route Army' has truly done this. It is also not just one or two of them. The Liberation Army that I saw in my Tientsin home are all very nice. Isn't their doctrine more powerful than Christianity?" There is another Christian of the "Little Flock" type who has decided to leave his home to participate in a political work corps going South. Still another Christian student said, "Formerly, I treated the scientific truth as God but now the scientific truth is itself and needs no longer to be God." In spite of all persuasion, he has given up his Christian faith. There are many other such examples. It is really a most serious challenge to the Chinese Student Christian Movement. We must meet this challenge. The problem is how to meet it and with what to meet it. The saddest thing is that so many of us are unwilling to recognize this problem or to recognize it wholly. Instead, people are criticizing Dr. T. C. Chao by saying, "He has lost his center." "He has become a Communist," and so on.

Vitamin Pills

Our Student Relief work is still going on as usual, although medical aid has been discontinued because of the discontinuance of remittances. But we continue to distribute vitamin pills to the undernourished students. Our bean-curd stations continue to supply the students with more than a thousand pieces of bean-curd every day. The circulation library has been expanded. Some selective work-relief projects are still maintained. Purely negative type relief will gradually lose its meaning because most of these activities can be carried on by the Government. But welfare projects such as our bean-curd stations will still be very much needed later on.

Future Of Social Work

The YWCA here has organized a nursery. Social work that meets such needs has every prospect of developing in the future. All the help from the people of other countries based on good will is still welcomed. But if those who are engaged in such work should in any way boast, their efforts will suffer. The chairman of the Tientsin branch of the International Relief Committee has bumped into such a nail. "Chinese people need no such relief!" What a clear-cut reply! It is true that the Chinese people after having used their own efforts in fighting to liberate themselves from prolonged oppression and exploitation, do not need other people standing by to show pity.

With regard to the foreigners, there are as yet no diplomatic relations. The new Government does not recognize any consulates, but it gives protection to foreign residents. Their chances of work will probably be very limited from now on. Hence some of the missionaries, even though quite safe and free, feel rather miserable.

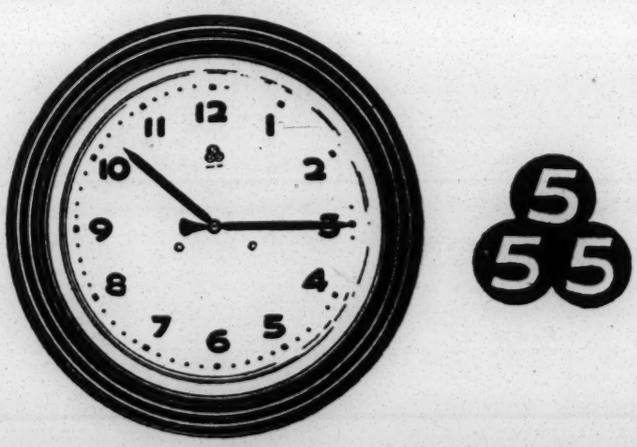
The treatment of Christian educational institutions is the same as that of other private schools. They fix their own tuition charges and then report to the Bureau of Education. Everything else is left to themselves. With regard to Christian hospitals, the treatment is the same as all other private hospitals. There is nothing special about it. This kind of freedom given to Christianity has really deepened its crisis. If it does not renew itself, it will die of itself.

There are people who are blindly optimistic. They say that Christianity still prospers in Eastern Europe and it will be the same in China. Actually, this can hardly be true. In the new democratic countries in Southeastern Europe, the capitalistic development is more advanced than in China (such as industry in Czechoslovakia) and hence the middle and small bourgeois classes are relatively stronger. The social foundation of the churches, from the economic standpoint, is also stronger. Further, the Christian tradition in the different countries in Europe has lasted more than a thousand years and has therefore penetrated into all phases of the life of all classes of people, whereas in China, Christian missionaries came in large numbers only during the last hundred odd years after the Opium War. The Chinese churches cannot be compared with those in Europe either in organization or in personnel. The future of the Church and the rise or fall of Christian institutions will be determined by the following four factors: 1) Whom do they unite with and whom do they serve? 2) Their own financial resources; 3) Thorough reform of internal personnel; 4) Policy of the Government.

Production And Study

If anybody should ask what the atmosphere is in the new Peiping, I can describe it in three words: "Production, study, and construction." Peiping has always been regarded as a consumptive "cultural city." The new Peiping includes the laborers of the Shih Chin San Iron Factory, Steel Factory, Power Station, and the Chang Hsin Tien Railway Center. The most important event after liberation was the mass meeting of the laborers on February 7th. This perhaps symbolizes the constructive direction of the new Peiping.

The National Student Convention on March 1, the National Women's Conference on March 24, the First National Convention of the New Democracy Youth Corps in the middle of April, the National Youth Conference on May 4, and the projected New Political Consultative Conference are not only designed to build a new Peiping, but also a new China. But we must all study, and study tirelessly and seriously. All men and women, young and old, should study, produce and build. The New China has already been born and is rapidly growing. Come! Let us all work together.



The "555" clock respects no position: it will work at any angle. No matter how the minute-hand is shifted, you will soon find it perfectly adjusted.

Manufacturers:

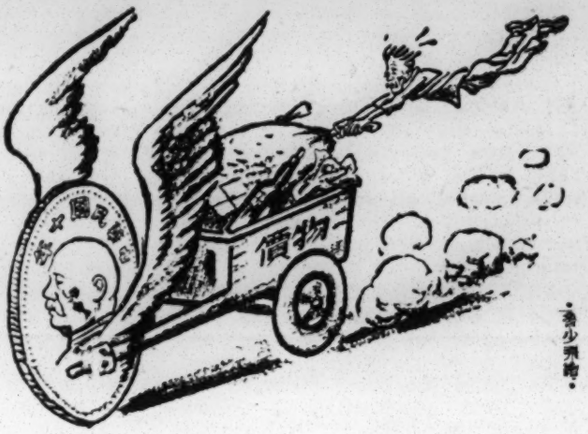
China Clock & Watch Works, Ltd.

980 ZIKAWEI ROAD, SHANGHAI TELEPHONE 70350

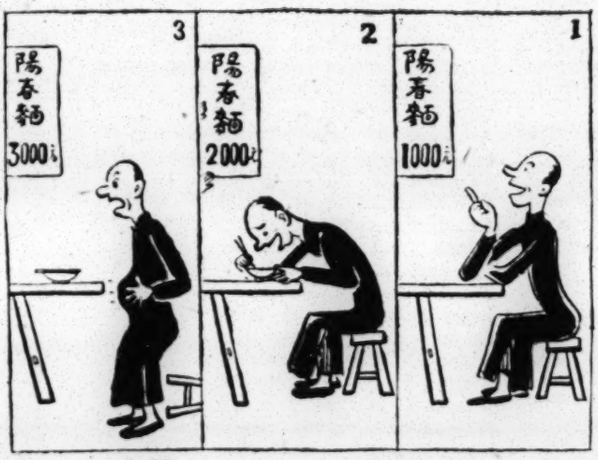
Cartoonists Depict China's Economic Crisis

惠鈴

「元」三中運



Above, the Chinese citizen tries to grind a livelihood out of the bulky, unmanageable currency structure. Below, the cost-of-living index is not enough to protect the worker from economic storms.



陸惠鈴

「一刻千金」

Above the silver dollar sprouts wings, carrying commodity prices with it, while the consumer tries to keep up with the pace. Below, the Gold Yuan is so worthless it is relegated to the trash heap and salvaged for paper pulp.

保障2

秋嘉

Illustrating the hourly depreciation of the Gold Yuan, the man above orders a bowl of noodles for GY1,000. When it arrives, the price is GY2,000, and by the time he finishes eating it, it is GY3,000. The cash shortage is mirrored in the cartoon below, showing the use of bank orders, rather than money, for buying food, paying pedicab fares, and even bestowing charity on beggars.

Put The Blame On Joe, Boys

Andrew Roth

IN America and Europe recent defeats suffered by the West in Asia have provoked loud howls of anguish and widespread gnashing of teeth. Amid all this din there is very little disposition to analyze objectively what has produced the present situation.

Although in Britain and America there is some tendency on the part of the party out of power to put the blame on the party in power, there is a more popular theory which finds wide acceptance in various Western countries. Humorously put, it might be called the theory of "Put the Blame on Joe, Boys," or the "Pushbutton Theory." According to simpler versions of this "Pushbutton Theory," Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin has a desk on which all the countries of the world are represented by buttons. When he wants to cause trouble for England, say, all he has to do is press the button marked "Malaya" and—*whoosh*—an uprising starts in Malaya. If he wants to bedevil the Americans, he presses another button and a general strike is called in Japan.

Makes Life Easy

Although this theory sounds ridiculous when put this simply, it seems to be the only way of explaining analyses of Asian developments by several prominent Western commentators. When Communist successes in Manchuria followed Communist setbacks in Europe, many commentators pounded on their typewriters: "Marshal Stalin has turned his attention to Asia." This theory makes life easy for commentators. They don't have to know, for example, that even before the Communist failure in the Italian elections the Chinese Communists had captured 95% of Manchuria and after that the fall of its besieged major cities was only a question of time.

This theory reached its fullest flower regarding Southeast Asia. In January, 1948 a Soviet Legation was established in Bangkok. In April the first of a series of Communist uprisings started in Southeast Asia. To advocates of the push button theory it was clear that the Soviet Legation was responsible. Although conservative commentators in the West usually have access to the intelligence organizations of their respective countries, they preferred to overlook the fact that these intelligence outfits had failed to uncover any link between the Soviet Legation and the uprisings. The weight of evidence is that the Southeast Asia uprisings were planned in Calcutta by Southeast Asia delegates to the conference of the Indian Communist Party and that while there were a few European Communists present, the chief instigating influences were Indian Communist leaders, headed by the super-revolutionary B.T. Ranadive. The most that can be said on the basis of the evidence is that the Soviets presumably smiled at these uprisings.

In short, most Western comment on what the West considers to be a dangerous blight in Asia is as close to objective analysis as an African witch-doctor is close to modern medicine. Both the average Western observer and the witch-doctor look for "devils" to blame.

Most Western diagnosticians seemingly ignore the basic facts: that Asia emerged from the war with most of its population's living conditions depressed below even its prewar subsistence condition and its prewar nationalism tremendously heightened. These strengthened nationalist movements were able, in the cases of Indonesia and Viet Nam, to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the Japanese capitulation to establish independent regimes. In all the other colonial countries of South and East Asia tremendous pressure was mounted to secure independence. Asian Communists have made their considerable gains in strength by actively supporting these nationalist movements and by, within them, pushing the economic interests of the peasant and labor majorities. Their desire to align these countries with the USSR has usually been kept in the background. Thus, with the exception of Indonesia and Burma, where the Communists have revolted against nationalist governments, they have been able to stay in the main stream of Asian aspirations.

British Yielded

The colonial powers of Western Europe were confronted by these demands at a time when they, themselves, felt they needed the resources of their Asian colonies to restore their own economies, battered and sapped by war and occupation. Objectively speaking, they could not afford the military or economic expenditures to suppress these nationalist pressures. But only the British Labor government made the rational adjustment to yield as much in the way of political independence as required to retain as much economic influence as possible. Thus India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon were granted varying degrees of political independence. But Sarawak, which has considerable economic potentialities and no real nationalist movement, was converted from a protectorate to an outright colony. And in Malaya, where the problem of nationalism is complicated by the existence of equally strong Chinese and Malay groups, there began a complicated constitutional maneuver to retain it for Britain through an alliance between Britain and the Chinese-fearing Malay aristocrats.

France and Holland have found it impossible to face postwar realities in their Asian colonies. Instead they have blamed their plight on the Japanese, the Russians, the British and Americans and have gone through a series of military attacks and attempts to set up puppet governments which have already cost them heavily economically and in the long run seem likely to lose them any economic or political ties they might have retained through facing realities.

American Far Eastern actions have not had the economic limitations which have hampered West European actions, because America emerged from the war richer and more powerful than before. But America has suffered from the submergence of Roosevelt era policies by policies of economic expansionism and a form of strategic colonialism.

No nation dislikes being called "imperialist" more than Americans, who think that it means only land-grabbing as practiced by other powers or by the US at the turn of the century. But there can be no doubt about US economic expansion after World War II. In many cases the penetration of American goods and capital was a product of free competition against the war-battered industries of England and other powers. But in the case of the Philippines, it was compelled to give American business economic privileges before it could receive war damages which it had suffered as an American colony. A privileged position for American business is also implicit in the Sino-American Commercial Treaty of 1946 which on its face gives China equal status with the US. Since American economic power is so much greater than China's, it has been compared to giving a ten-ton truck and a frail rickshaw qual rights to a road.

A far more important factor than economic expansionism in its influence on US Asian policy has been the "World War III" phobia which has led American leaders to look at areas in strategic terms rather than human terms. By now the whole series of Soviet actions and American counter-actions (or American actions and Soviet counter-actions) is too long, involved and overlaid with misunderstandings to evaluate the burden of blame. But there can be no doubt that the actions of American generals and admirals in East Asia have done much to stimulate Russian fears and counter-actions. Thus, General MacArthur sent General Hodges into South Korea with orders to hold it against the Soviets. Of course the Soviets have been as happy about having an American force in Korea as the US

would be about having a Soviet force in Cuba.

"Safe" Allies

The subordination of American policies to strategic preparations for World War III (usually described as "containing Soviet expansion") has tremendously complicated America's Asian relations and is responsible for most of its failures. It has promoted reliance on "safe" allies in the various countries, most of them unpopular with their own people. Thus, America's most important effort to end China's civil war was General Marshall's mediation attempt in 1946. Although Marshall tried valiantly to bring about peace and compromise, American impartiality was already suspect because American planes and ships had rushed Kuomintang troops into Communist-won areas. American-administered UNRRA aid was going almost entirely to Kuomintang areas. On the Kuomintang side it was felt that it was not necessary to yield much to the Communists because the Americans would continue to help the anti-Soviet Kuomintang anyway. After the failure of the mediation effort, America reluctantly continued to help the Kuomintang, fully conscious that it was too corrupt, inept and medieval-minded to be good either for China or American business or even able to utilize American arms adequately against the Communists. American attempts to stiffen the Kuomintang, at best a flabby cushion against "Communist expansion," aroused the cry of "American intervention in Chinese affairs." In supporting the Kuomintang the US thus put itself against the basic desire of the Chinese for full national independence and an improved people's livelihood.

Communist victories in China—instead of showing the West the dangers of leaning on people who are going against the mainstreams of Asian life—have further stimulated seeking for "safe allies" for World War III. In Japan, Americans, shaping up a "strategic colony", cuddle up to big business—promising them American capital and opportunities for expansion. In Korea, US authorities support a government of extreme rightists and have secured US support for it. In Malaya British authorities tend to align themselves with the Malay aristocrats. In the Indies the Dutch cling to a few Indonesian aristocrats who fear their own people.

In short the West has, for the most part, completely misread the most basic facts of life in Asia. Asian demands emphasize political independence and economic improvement. Soviet influence has spread because its allies, the local Communists, have, with varying degrees of success, championed the basic Asian demands of political independence and economic improvement. Western influence has diminished because in many cases the West has resisted the demand for national independence or has allied itself with people opposed to an improved livelihood for the people.

The Week's Business

RECORD increases of financial quotations and commodity prices were registered during the past week because of the payment of large sums of money as salaries and wages, the increased political tension following the announcement that the Communists were determined to cross the Yangtze River and the intensified inflation resulting from unlimited issuance of Gold Yuan notes.

Before the announcement of the cost of living index on April 15, managements of many factories and commercial firms rushed to buy silver dollars. Some of these people bought silver dollars to pay their staff members. Others bought silver coins for the preservation of their money.

Immediately following the announcement of the cost of living index on April 15, salaried people as well as workers rushed to buy silver dollars so that their meager income in Gold Yuan would not depreciate quickly.

Although the cost of living index for the first half month of April increased to 15,140.29 against 3,402.67 for the second half of the month of March, the salaried people and the workers have found it more difficult than ever before to make a living as prices of financial quotations and commodity prices increased.

According to one estimate, the price of silver dollars increased by 775 percent during the period, the US dollar rate gained by 625 percent, gold advanced by 580 percent, and rice by 650 percent. However, the cost of living index for the period increased only by 345 percent.

Because of the increasing demand for silver dollars after April 15, the silver dollar rate gained so rapidly that salaried people and workers had to pay even more for silver coins.

Because of this unfavorable position, a worker whose wage when calculated according to the cost of living index on March 31 could obtain five silver dollars, was able to buy only two or two and a half silver dollars when calculated according to the cost of living index on April 15.

It was because of this unbearable condition, that workers demanded the payment of wages every week instead of every half month. This demand is reported to have been accepted by the industrial and commercial houses and the City Government is reported to have decided to compile a cost of living index every week.

Although this is expected to improve the condition for a while, it will not solve the problem and a day will soon come when the workers can be expected to demand payment of wages daily!

As the general economic situation worsened, many people put the blame on the Gold Yuan dollar and demanded the abolition of this currency. Many civil and business leaders are reported to have even suggested the issuance of banknotes by a few of the large commercial banks in Shanghai. These people believe that banknotes issued by these big banks will have the support and the confidence of the public and that they will remain more or less stable. These leaders pointed out further that these big banks have plenty of foreign exchange or other tangible assets as reserve and that banknotes issued by these banks years ago (before 1935) enjoyed the support of the people.

This suggestion is absurd. It will not be permitted by the authorities, because it will not solve the financial problem. Besides such a move would only add to the confusion in the market.

Side by side with this suggestion, many other reports were circulated in the market. One says that the Nanking Government will soon decide in favor of the issuance of Silver Dollar Scrip Notes. Another says that "parity deposits" will be accepted by Government banks soon. By this method, people may deposit Gold Yuan notes in Gold Yuan but calculated according to the value of gold, silver or US dollars and that the depositors may withdraw their savings in a definite time in Gold Yuan notes but calculated also according to the value of gold, silver and US dollars. A third report says that an overall revision of the financial control measures will be passed by the Legislative Yuan.

No matter what measure Nanking may take, it will hardly be able to slow down the present increase of commodity prices. Prices will continue to rise as the only measure for meeting the mounting political and military expense today is the printing of still more and more notes.

It was only on April 17 that the charges of public utilities increased by 100 to 1,400 percent. This will obviously cause a considerable increase in financial quotations and commodity prices. According to the new tariff revision, the charges of railways increased by 900 percent, of shipping companies by 200 percent, of airlines by 470 percent, of local bus and tramway companies by 100 percent, of postal administration and telegraph office by 1,400 percent.

The following table gives the quotations for some of the leading commodities on April 13 and 20:

	April 13 GY	April 20 GY
Gold	3,500,000	10,420,000
US Dollar	82,000	360,000
Clearance Certificate ..	58,500	175,000
Silver Dollar .	85,000	295,000
20's Yarn	12,500,000	48,000,000
Rice	450,000	1,750,000
Wing On Textile	53.30	145

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Nanking Rejects Red Demands; Nationalist Economy In Tailspin

NANKING'S out-of-hand rejection of the demand of the Chinese Communists for an unopposed crossing of the Yangtze River has aroused nation-wide concern. It is feared that the rejection would be the signal for an immediate breakdown of the peace negotiations in Peiping to be followed by large-scale Communist thrusts by force across the Yangtze.

According to press reports, the Communists presented a series of concrete demands on the basis of Mao Tze-tung's eight terms which had already been accepted by the Government as the basis for discussion in the current peace talks. Reports on the contents of the demands are rather confusing and misleading. And some of the press stories about the Communist demands are simply ridiculous by the yardstick of plain common sense.

* * *

24 Demands

The *United Press* claimed to have learned from a number of "reliable sources" the much-mooted 24 demands the Communists have presented to Nanking which required a yes-or-no answer by April 20. These alleged demands are listed as follows in the order of their importance, and not in the order or original wording as presented by the Communists.

1) Communist forces (strength unspecified) shall cross the Yangtze river immediately after the conclusion of the peace settlement.

2) Communist forces shall occupy five bridgeheads and five county towns south of the river bank. The five bridgeheads are Kiangyin and Yanchun 90 and 55 miles east of Nanking, Kweitzu, Tungling and Tungliu, 125, 168, 175 miles southwest of Nanking respectively. The five county towns: Fanchang, Nanling, Chingyang, Shihti and Chiupu, 78, 88, 115, 130 and 168 miles southwest of Nanking. Shihti is farthest from the river bank being 30 miles south of the river.

3) Nationalist armed forces shall be handed over to the Communists for reorganization (and not for reorganization by a joint Kuomintang-Communist committee as earlier reported.)

4) Nationalist armed forces shall stay in their present positions awaiting reorganization.

5) The strength of Nationalist armed forces permitted to be retained shall be decided later by the Political Consultative Conference (PCC).

6) Nationalist armed forces personnel discharged in accordance with PCC decisions shall be employed for reclamation and production work.

7) The PCC shall be convened after the conclusion of the peace settlement, the date to be fixed later.

8) The PCC shall be formed with one-third Communist, one-third Kuomintang and one-third non-partisan and third party representatives. (Modelled on the old Chungking PCC).

9) Decisions of the PCC shall be carried by a simple majority.

10) Administrative and foreign policy of the coalition government shall be decided by the PCC.

11) Organic law of the coalition government shall be made by the PCC.

12) The PCC chairman shall be Communist.

13) Date of the formation of a coalition government shall be decided by the PCC.

14) The coalition government shall be formed on a three-three-three ratio — that is three Communist, three Kuomintang and three third party and non-partisan representatives.

15) Kuomintang, third party and non-partisan representatives shall be approved by the Communists.

16) The coalition government shall take over the Kuomintang's central and local governments.

17) Responsibility for the Civil War shall be determined later. (This was orginally the term for the punishment of "war criminals.")

18) Traditional political institutions shall be revised in proper procedure.

19) The constitution shall be revised in proper procedure.

20) Principles for the revision of political institutions and the constitution shall be decided by the PCC and a Constituent Assembly shall be convened to adopt a new constitution.

21) Principles for the abrogation of "National betrayal" treaties shall be decided by the PCC and carried out by the coalition government.

22) Confiscation of bureaucratic capital shall be handled by the coalition government. Legal process and principles of confiscation shall be decided by the PCC.

23) A program of land reform for Kuomintang China shall be drafted by the PCC to be carried out in stages over a number of years.

24) Reduction of land rentals in Kuomintang China shall be carried out immediately and the amount of reduction shall be decided by the PCC.

Economic Debacle

TO the man in the street, the skyrocketing of commodity prices and the alarming depreciation in the purchasing power of the Gold Yuan pose a more serious and more dangerous menace than the threatened Communist March across the Yangtze River. The reason is quite simple. The daily jumping of prices presents an immediate and constant threat to the very existence of the overwhelming majority of the people. The Chinese - owned *China Daily Tribune* quoted an economic expert as saying that the total economic structure in Nationalist China would collapse like a house of cards in the near future if the Nationalist Government could do nothing other than the dumping of gold and other supplies by the Central Bank.

As a matter of fact, shop assistants these days are having a very hard time, changing price tags several times a day. Most of the shops do very little business, because the general public simply cannot afford the prices. A *Central News Agency* story reported that the Central China city of Hankow faced a serious industrial crisis because of "abnormal conditions." It was disclosed that most of the flour mills there had stopped business as the result of the lack of wheat, and 80 percent of the textile mills had closed shop.

Things in Shanghai are just as bad, if not worse. Well-informed sources predict that if the present price upheavals are not checked in time, a general breakdown of the economic structure will occur in two or three months. The phenomenal hike in the cost of living index for the first half of this month is generally viewed as the handwriting on the wall, although the hike lagged far behind actual prices. There has been widespread agitation among the workers for a weekly index to keep pace with price fluctuations.

* * *

More Reform Talk

IN view of the gravity of the present economic crisis, it is cold comfort to hear Finance Minister S. Y. Liu talk about "new reform measures" now under consideration. During the past two years, Nanking has promulgated one economic reform program after another in rapid succession. Each time a "new" program was adopted it was advertized as one which was designed to correct past mistakes and improve the general economic situation. But the results were invariably disappointing. Things usually worsened instead of improved. The finance minister may possibly pull another rabbit from his hat, but we wonder if the new rabbit will fare better than the old ones that are now dead and forgotten.

The proposed collection of taxes in "tax yuan" as planned in the new reform program has already aroused nation-wide protest. Both manufacturers and big business are firmly set against this "reform."

The poor finance minister was under heavy fire at the session of the Legislative Yuan on April 12 for permitting US$300,000,000 worth of Government specie holdings to "rust" in Taiwan and South China when they were badly needed to check the current spiralling inflation. Legislators in a signed resolution also charged him with permitting and encouraging corruption among financial authorities and fostering the growth of new bureaucratic capitalism.

However, the finance minister in his report to the Legislative Yuan did some plain speaking. He served notice that there was no possibility of altering Nationalist China's financial policy until after a peace settlement has been concluded. He further disclosed that the Government could not balance its budget and had no alternative but to continue the old policy of printing bigger and bigger banknotes to make up the deficit.

* * *

Who's In Control

ACCORDING to a seven-man investigating committee of the Control Yuan, about the equivalent of US$170 million of national assets in foreign currency, gold and silver bullion and silver dollars is being held at Amoy and Taiwan Island and the equivalent only of US$30 million is in Shanghai.

In answering questions in the Legislative Yuan, Finance Minister S. Y. Liu said that he was acting under instructions in the removal of US$300,000,000 worth of Government specie resources to Taiwan and South China. But he did not tell who had issued the instructions. It was recalled that acting-President Li Tsung-jen issued a personal order to the Central Bank in late February to cease removing gold and silver to South China. The finance minister assured the Legislative Yuan that the Government specie stored in Taiwan and South China is still within the authority of the Central Bank and that he has full power to bring it back when necessary.

But *UP* reported April 14 from Canton that Kwangtung military authorities defied Nanking and embargoed a large shipment of silver from Canton by the Central Bank despite orders from the Ministry of Finance.

The details of the story were told by the *Associated Press* as follows:

"Kuomintang and other public bodies backed up the action of the Kwangtung provincial and military authorities in preventing the air shipment of 155,000 silver dollars by the Central Bank of China out of the province. The bank here was ordered by its head office to hand the silver dollars to combined service forces to be airlifted to Liuchow, Kweilin and Changsha.... Endorsement of the Kwangtung authorities' action was led by the provincial assembly which took the position that the silver originally belonged to the people of Kwangtung province, who surrendered it last August to the Central Bank in exchange for gold yuan. The assembly held that Canton is safer for the storage of the dollars than any other city and that Kwangtung needs silver dollars to pay its troops just as much as Kwangsi and Hunan."

* * *

Indonesia

UNDER strong pressure, Dutch and Indonesian delegates gathered again in Batavia April 13 to renew negotiations over the bloody dispute in Java and Sumatra but fell into argument even before the talks actually began. Dr. Mohamed Rum, head of the Indonesian delegation, stated that the first step in the talks must be the restoration of the republic. Dr. J. H. van Royen, head of the Dutch delegation, promptly replied that acceptance of such a condition is "out of the question." Rum and van Royen agreed on only one point, that the outlook for a successful settlement was poor. Said Rum: "I have little optimism over the preliminary conference but we must continue all efforts to reach a peaceful settlement although my past experience has not given me much hope."

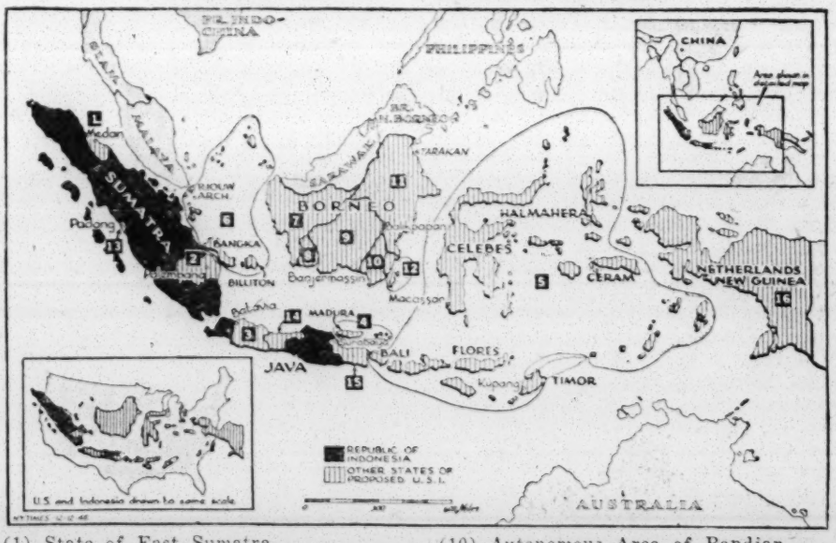
At the same time, the United Nations General Assembly voted April 12 to include the Indonesian problem on its agenda despite a protest from the Dutch delegation. The assembly is empowered under the Charter to discuss only the dispute which concerns transfer of sovereignty over the rich East Indies from the Hague Government to a Dutch-Indonesian confederation which would include the young Indonesian republic.

Pakistan's delegate Sir Mohammed Zafrukkah Khan declared that while the Security Council had been making a long, serious effort to resolve the disputes, the position of the Indonesian Republic had been deteriorating. He said that the Indonesians did not even have recognition as a de facto Government.

The United States called for a cease-fire in Java and restoration of the Indonesian republic with its capital at Jogjakarta. American delegate H. Merle Cochran offered a two-point program as the UN Indonesian commission opened Dutch-Indonesian peace talks. While the United States wanted the Republicans to cease fire immediately, the latter indicated the first step toward peace would have to be restoration of their government at Jogjakarta. Indonesian delegate Rum said: "We are indeed exiled. We are no longer a government. We are no longer in touch with our people while parts of our territory are under Dutch military control. These events made it impossible for the time being for the two parties to the Indonesian dispute to hold free negotiations." He said further that following the restoration of the republic to the capital of Jogjakarta the republic "will be in a position to re-enter negotiations and begin implementation of an overall settlement."

It is generally feared that the renewed negotiations will again bog down without producing any tangible results.

INDONESIA—CENTER OF UNREST IN THE EAST



(1) State of East Sumatra
(2) State of South Sumatra
(3) State of Pasundan (West Java)
(4) State of Madura
(5) State of East Indonesia
(6) Federation Bangka-Billiton-Riouw
(7) Autonomous Area of West Borneo
(8) Kotawaringin (Status Undecided)
(9) Autonomous Area of Great Dayak
(10) Autonomous Area of Bandjar
(11) Autonomous Area of East Borneo
(12) Autonomous Area of S. E. Borneo
(13) Dutch-Controlled City of Padang
(14) Dutch-Controlled Area of Middle Java
(15) Dutch-Controlled State of East Java
(16) Neth. New Guinea (Status Undecided)

The proposed United States of Indonesia would include the Republic of Indonesia (1) and the less populous states and areas, (2-16), each component having equal political status. The Dutch are suggesting that after the U. S. I. is formed, it join a projected Netherlands-Indonesian Union in which the U. S. I. and metropolitan Holland would be equal partners under the Dutch crown.

—*New York Times.*

Chinese Magazine Roundup

Newsland

THE *Newsland* magazine of April 14 carries a highly informative article about the behind-the-scenes activities of T. V. Soong. According to the magazine, T.V.'s recent visit to Canton and Chikow was connected with the current peace talks and with the purchase of arms by the Government.

"So far as the peace negotiations are concerned," the magazine discloses, "a group of key leaders in South China have met to discuss the situation on several occasions. The most delicate problem is to decide upon an attitude toward Nanking. If the authorities in South China insist on their demand for 'honorable peace' and oppose the plan of the Kwangsi clique to negotiate peace with the Chinese Communists on the basis of Mao Tze-tung's eight terms, an open split between Nanking and Canton would be a dead certainty. However, if South China did not raise objections, the peace terms would be unacceptable. Therefore, the authorities have had a hard nut to crack. After protracted deliberations, it was finally decided that South China should not be included in the current peace talks in Peiping.

"But, since Nanking has already advocated an over-all peace, Acting President Li Tsung-jen is to be expected to disapprove any peace plan which excludes South China. On the other hand, the local authorities in Canton felt it would be no good for them to come out into the open demanding that an exception be made of South China in any peace formula which the Government might succeed in negotiating with the Chinese Communists. Therefore, they asked T. V. Soong to come to Canton to talk the matter over. It was finally decided that T. V. should proceed to Chikow to bring up the matter with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. After T. V.'s return to Hongkong from Chikow, Government leaders in Canton received word that the Generalissimo was highly agreeable to the proposal for excluding South China from the present peace talks. It was further understood that the Generalissimo had ordered General Chang Chih-chung to ask Acting President Li Tsung-jen to implement this proposal."

Another mission of T. V.'s visit to Canton, the magazine reveals, was the purchase of arms. "The province of Kwangtung needs modern weapons badly," the article says. "It happened that T. V. Soong, while he was still governor of Kwangtung, had placed orders for arms from the United States, including sub-machine-guns, heavy machine guns, flame-throwers and bazookas. Soong's original plans were to use these new weapons to arm and equip the peace preservation corps in Kwangtung. But the sudden change in the general situation in Nanking made it necessary for T. V. to step down before the arrival of the weapons. Some time ago, shipments of these weapons arrived at Whampoa. In order to supervise the distribution T. V. went to Canton. It is now understood that General Hsueh Yueh, Governor of Kwangtung and General Chen Chi-tang, special administrator for Hainan Island, received part of the arms."

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Masses Magazine

THE Communist *Masses Magazine* of March 10 discusses the correct relationship between peace and revolution, pointing out that the peace problem is only one of the many important problems facing China under present conditions and not the basic problem in China's internal politics. Nor is it a key to any turning point in China's political situation. The reason, the magazine says, is "that the basic problem in China's internal politics and the key to any turning point in China's political situation consist in whether or not the liberation of the whole nation can be achieved. In other words, it is a question whether or not the revolution can win a thorough victory. The peace problem is only part of the struggle for the liberation of the whole nation. Peace depends on revolution and not vice versa.

"It is of course true that any victory for peace, however small and limited, is highly instrumental in contributing toward the ultimate victory of the revolution. But, in the last analysis, peace is to be determined by revolution and not revolution determined by peace. Genuine peace in this country can only be achieved and safeguarded when revolution has won a sweeping victory by overthrowing the domination of imperialism, feudalistic forces and bureaucratic capitalists. The reason is quite simple. The root cause for war lies in imperialism, feudalistic forces and bureaucratic capitalists. Unless this root cause has been removed, it is utterly impossible to achieve genuine peace, which is much sought after by the majority of the Chinese people. Even if a temporary peace could be achieved it would be in constant danger of being threatened. Therefore, the fight for peace cannot be separated from the general task of the revolutionary struggle, and this is the reason why Chairman Mao Tze-tung has raised his eight concrete revolutionary tasks as the requisites for peace.

"There has been some misconception about the correct relationship between revolution and peace. Some hold the wrong view that revolution and peace are hostile to each other. It is argued that it is impossible to serve the revolution if one wants to carry on the peace movement. It is also argued that if one wants to serve the revolution, one should pay no heed to the peace movement. Needless to say that this kind of view only plays into the hands of the enemy, who are taking advantage of the popular will for peace to divert public attention from the revolutionary struggle."

The magazine then attacks Sun Fo's loose talk about "honorable peace," peace on the basis of a "draw," as advocated by apologists for the Kwangsi clique, and Chen Li-fu's statement on true peace. It declares that all this talk is designed to create confusion on the question of peace—the kind of peace the people are after.

"Meanwhile, the counter-revolution is at a serious military disadvantage as the result of its heavy losses of men and equipment. These military reverses, coupled with the internal split, have made it impossible for the reactionary forces to organize any large-scale military operations. As a result, they have resorted to the peace offensive in order to employ peace talks to gain time to make war preparations and to prolong their life.

"At the same time, there is a widespread illusion and demand among a small section of the backward people for ending the war as soon as possible and achieving the revolutionary objectives through peaceful means. These people are bent on seeking peace at the earliest possible date and they cannot draw the line between genuine peace and false peace. This kind of sentiment has aided the counter-revolution to carry on its peace offensive. It is precisely for this reason that the present struggle for peace is a zigzag and highly complex business...."

In conclusion, the magazine makes clear the stand of the Chinese Communists on the question of peace. It stresses: "We fully favor and welcome peace. But the kind of peace we want is a democratic, lasting and genuine peace. The concrete yardstick for genuine peace is the implementation of Mao-Tze-tung's eight terms without the slighest discount. Peace a la Peiping is a classic example of conserving the vitality of the nation, reducing the suffering of the people and shortening the war period. The People's Liberation Army is willing to work hand in hand with all people concerned to achieve peace on Peiping's pattern in all areas south of the Yangtze and in the Northwest. The die-hard elements of the remnants of counter-revolution who reject peace along the lines of Peiping shall be disposed of on the pattern of Tientsin. The objective is just the same—to bring China's civil war to an early end and to bring about an early liberation of the whole of China."

US Magazine Roundup

New Republic

A TIMELY review of the situation in Greece is carried in the March 7 issue of the *New Republic*. The article, entitled "Greece's Ultimate Solution," is written by Alexander Kendrick who declares that the Greeks can have peace only by changing the conditions that caused the rebellion.

Kendrick says the present situation must be viewed from the standpoint of what he calls the "Greek realities." The first of these, he says, is that "militarily, the rebels are not getting weaker, but stronger."

The second reality, Kendrick reports, is that, contrary to the wishful thinking of Greek officials, the recent shakeup in the KKE, the Greek Communist party, does not indicate any weakening of the rebel forces. "The undoubted purge in the central committee and politburo of the KKE—for 'rightist opportunist deviation,' which is obviously to be associated with Titoism and probably with the specific question of Macedonia," he says, "has not been shown to concern Markos himself directly. ....Markos' release from his party, military and 'governmental' duties was unmistakably due to the serious illness which followed his wounding in last summer's Grammos campaign. If he had been liquidated for political nonconformity, there would be no reason for the KKE to conceal it; no other Communist Party has concealed such action."

Thirdly, Kendrick says, "The events in China have had a tremendous effect on Greek public opinion, especially since the rebel radio followed up the 'purge' by announcing a change in tactics from 'useless destruction' to the less spectacular but more successful methods of the Chinese Communists."

And finally, he reports, "conciliation talk has been increasing both inside and outside Greece following Dr. Herbert Evatt's efforts in that direction through the UN....It can be accurately stated that some members of the new government would much rather be in a peace than a war cabinet."

"These new realities," Kendrick says, "must be considered against the background of continuing economic chaos, rising prices, ebbing morale, tax inequality and war-time profiteering in Greece, which leads to the conclusion that the latest five-party government can be no more effective than the six which have preceded it in the three years since the 1946 elections, and that internal changes much more radical than any envisioned by Greek politicians or their Anglo-American advisors are required for favorable prosecution of the war.....

"There can be no doubt of the deterioration of the military, political and economic situation in Greece since a year ago, when both American Ambassador Henry F. Grady and Prime Minister Sophoulis confidently predicted victory over the rebels in 1948.

"Although the Greek armed forces have been increased to more than 200,000 men, as against perhaps 50,000 rebels, the guerillas have been able to strike at will and the front has become ubiquitous.

"When to events like these is added a precarious economic state of affairs, it is not hard to explain the 'peace-at-any-price' psychology which is beginning to take hold, in spite of all the loud exhortations of politicians and newspaper editorials.

"Prices in Greece are still moving upward, especially food prices, which increase from meal to meal. There are no price controls, but Greeks can thank American intervention for the institution of wage controls, and their inability to get an adequate raise since November, 1947."

Turning to what kind of solution will be possible in Greece, Kendrick says: "The point is that many more Communists and rebels have been made in Greece by social injustice than by all the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Stalin....The present pattern of repression, exile and civil war is at least 2,500 years old, as witness Thucydides' account of the original Peloponnesian War. Its repetition in Greece today is evidence that anti-Communism alone is a negative, futile and sterile policy...

"Probably the only program that could win the war for Greece—and by Greece I don't mean the present Greek government—would first of all entail the restoration of civil liberties, even in military zones. Then would have to come the restoration of the free trade unions, which were abolished by Metaxas and replaced by Fascist-style corporations still ruled by the same Metaxas-appointed officials. The political parties which are now considered illegal because they boycotted the 1946 elections would similarly have to be restored.

"In the economic field, controls would have to be imposed on prices and the prices themselves rolled back to the levels of many months ago. Thousands of state employees, who now constitute one of the world's great inept bureaucracies, could easily be eliminated, and the wages of the others increased. Tax reforms are imperative, since 80 percent of Greek taxation is still of the indirect variety. State enterprise will be necessary to increase Greek industrialization, if private capital won't do it.....

"Thus far the war has been fought with force, repression, executions, mass arrests and deportations, but without political sagacity. It should be plain that the best way to end rebellion is to end the conditions that caused it."

The Nation

"GOOD Days for the Nazis" is the title of an article in the February 26 issue of *The Nation* written by a former member of the German trade union movement who writes under the name "Carolus."

The author says the only people who have money in Germany today are the farmers, the black market profiteers, and "the Nazis and their henchmen."

"It is they," he says, "who survived the war, Hitler, occupation, inflation, denazification — and today they again dominate the economic scene. They built and made money then. They make money and build today.... A popular saying that is making the rounds in the Germany of 1949 runs, 'If you want to get along, better be sure you were a Nazi.' "

As an example, the author describes the situation in Schleswig-Holstein in the British zone, which he says, is "the only German province or *Land* with a Social Democratic majority and purely Social Democratic government."

"Yet in this state," he reports, "91 percent of all judges, prosecutors, and court officials are former members of the Nazi Party. In the American zone this percentage drops to 60 in some spots, but even there the administration of justice is not much better....

"Turning to the universities, for the professors and 90 percent of the students the picture is the same. 'They have learned nothing and forgotten nothing' — today the phrase may again be applied not only to Germany's democrats but to most of those who work in the offices of the zonal occupation authorities supervising German reeducation and democratization. The police force has become a domain of the former Hitler army....The story of the police and court system is repeated in the vast state and municipal civil service, as it is in the post office and railroad services. Even where there are Social Democrats or democratically-minded anti-fascists as ministers or officials, their work is sabotaged or they slowly succumb to the *esprit de corps*—if, indeed, they are not innately as nationalist as their colleagues."

The author concludes: "For the moment it is enough to say that Nazis in Germany are doing well. Democratization is still far away. There were excellent beginnings in Germany, and even today a great many Germans watch the present situation with sorrow and perplexity. But they are resigned and helpless, pushed into a corner, their hopes of 1945 buried."

What Chinese Papers Say

WIDESPREAD concern was felt in the Chinese press about the threatened breakdown of the current peace negotiations in Peiping between the Government and the Chinese Communists. Kuomintang-controlled papers were unanimous in rejecting the demand of the Communists for a "peaceful" crossing of the Yangtze. Secretary of State Dean Acheson's letter to the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee about China was bitterly resented.

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Peace Talks

THE *Chung Yang Jih Pao*, official organ of the Kuomintang, rejected the Communists' demand for an unobstructed march across the Yangtze as "unreasonable" and advised the Government to stand firm in dealing with the Reds.

"The so-called 'demand for the crossing of the Yangtze', according to the Communist interpretation, has been made for the 'supervision of the army reorganization work.' It has also been suggested that 'the Kuomintang and the Communist Party should first create a joint machinery which, pending the organization of the Coalition Government, will deal with various issues on the Peiping pattern. At the present moment, even simple-minded people will realize that at a time when the army reorganization work has not yet been carried out, and the various basic issues have not yet been settled, the crossing of the Yangtze by the Communists must alter the nature of the peace talks, and true peace will not be possible. Talking of army reorganization, the only practical measure to deal with the question is for all troops to remain at their present posts, and to be subjected to reorganization at such posts. But the Communists have brought the question of the supervision of army reorganization in support of their demand to cross the Yangtze. The Peiping Pattern is a pattern for surrender. There is superficially a 'joint machinery' in Peiping, but the real power to dispose of all issues is actually in the hands of the Communists. How can such a formula lead to true peace?

"We can see that the Communists want to use the sugar-coated term of 'peaceful crossing' to enable their army to cross the River without losing a single man, and that they take this move not for the realization of peace, but rather for forcing the Government to surrender. The Government has made concessions to the utmost limit. And if all these concessions should still result in its having to surrender, then the peace talks for which so much effort has been spent and time wasted may just as well be dispensed with.

"At this moment when the peace talks are approaching the decisive stage, we must reiterate the point that there is a distinctive difference between peace and surrender, and that the two issues must not be confused. In the Communist-proposed Draft Peace Agreement, all conditions which are conducive to peace will, we hope, be given consideration by the Government in keeping with its spirit of tolerance in the interests of the State, but those demands which only force the Government into accepting a disguised surrender must be rejected. Levity and indecision must be avoided as they will lead to national disaster.

"The Peace Agreement to be concluded affects the history and the fate of the nation for centuries to come, and is not only a matter of concern for a couple of political parties. We seriously hope that the Government will adhere strictly to its established stand in seeking genuine peace. If the Chinese Communists really have the interests of the people at heart, they should withdraw their unreasonable demands, delete such conditions which appear to be a call to surrender, so as to remove the obstacles to peace, and show the people their sincerity in seeking peace."

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US Policy

THE *Yi Shih Pao*, mouthpiece of the Chinese Catholic Church, commented on Dean Acheson's letter to the Senate Foreign Relations Commission and came to the conclusion that US policy toward China is based on wishful thinking.

The State Department is obviously still maintaining its "wait-and-see" policy. The recently published letter from State Secretary Acheson to Chairman Tom Connally of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has aroused the severe criticism of a portion of the Senate....

"In the interests of the United States herself, it is possible that at a time when China's diplomatic policy may be subject to a change, increased aid to China would be considered a risky waste, and that it will be better to wait for the clarification of the China situation when the results of such aid may be more certain. In such a case, what should have been said should be that the United States would consider increased aid to China if there were factual guarantees that China would strengthen her friendly relations with the United States and would not change her present foreign policy, while on the other hand, should a Coalition Government be formed in China, American aid would be withdrawn.

"It is not our contention that the United States should not adopt the attitude as expressed by Acheson in his letter. But we wish to ask the United States: of the above two possibilities, which one does she expect, and what preparations are being made to promote its realization? While the United States may be going all out in Europe and adopting a strong stand there toward the Soviet Union, in China she has shown herself to be extraordinarily weak. The *United Press* reported from Washington on April 17 that American diplomatic officials believe the mounting tide of Asiatic nationalism will keep Russia from dominating China even if the Communists score a clearcut victory in the Chinese civil war.

"US China policy today, therefore, is not really the so-called "wait-and-see" policy, but rather one built on an illusion, the illusion that even if the Communists win the war in China, the Soviet Union will fail to exercise control over this country. Anybody with common sense will realize the futility of such a dream, and it is unbelievable that the United States, the leading power in the world, can tolerate the existence of such wishful thinking, such defeatism."

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Trade With North

THE *Ta Kung Pao* deplored the delay in renewing normal trade between Shanghai and Communist-held North China and pointed out that this only benefited the British colony of Hongkong.

"An analysis of the situation of Sino-Hongkong trade reveals a point of great significance. The bulk of Hongkong's foreign trade has always been with China. Of the three major areas of North China, Central China and South China, normally, Hongkong's trade with Central China has been the smallest. Hongkong's trade with South China, normally the most brisk, has been steadily declining, while North China, formerly holding second place in Hongkong's foreign trade situation, is steadily increasing the volume of business transacted. The statistical figures for 1947 and 1948, which showed first a decline in trade with North China followed by an increase, reflected the change in the military situation in North China and Manchuria. By 1949, Hongkong's trade with North China has become especially brisk....

"At one period, Hongkong dealt extensively in trade with North Korea. As a matter of fact, this trade was directed with the Communist areas in Manchuria. Now that the situation has changed, North Korea no longer needs to serve as a bridge for Hongkong-Manchuria trade relations, while the economic deadlock between the North and the South only serves to increase the importance of Hongkong as an entrepot, though its position had undergone a period of decline lately. The recent excessive increase of Hongkong's trade with North China is an abnormal phenomenon which has been made possible through Hongkong's taking over of more than 50 percent of the trade of Shanghai.

What US Papers Say

THE latest statement of US policy on aid to China, as contained in the letter written by US Secretary of State Dean Acheson to Senator Connally, was widely noted in the US press. Other comment dealt with US defense appropriations and US policy in western Germany.

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Acheson Letter

THE *New York Times* said Secretary Acheson's letter, which set forth his objections to the McCarran bill calling for US$1,500,000,000 in aid to China, "confirms what has apparently been an attitude of many months, a wait-and-see or wait-for-the-dust-to-settle policy." The *Times* continued:

"The allocation of the $54,000,000, already appropriated but not expended, does not contradict that policy since this is obviously a token payment designed primarily to show American faith. The Secretary made it quite plain that as far as aid plans were concerned, the Government of China had been written off at least for the time being.

"That policy will get a mixed reception in the United States. It will be vigorously applauded by the Communists, the fellow-travellers, the Isolationists, the apologists for Chinese agrarian reforms, the critics of President Chiang Kai-shek and many persons who feel that our ability to give foreign aid has already gone beyond reasonable capacity. The policy will be deplored and assailed by a considerable body of friends of China, who will regard it as faithless and defeatist. It will, we believe, be reluctantly and ruefully accepted by many thoughtful persons as probably the only thing that can be done under the circumstances.

"Unhappily, those circumstances are in part of our own making. We are paying the price for the mistakes and indecisions of several years beginning, perhaps, with the tragedy at Yalta (if not earlier) and continuing through three years of misappraisal of the real issues in China. But another and very compelling circumstance is the very heavy commitment that we have made, and made rightly, in respect to Europe. We have involved a substantial amount of our resources in the Marshall Plan and we will be called upon to make further involvements if the Atlantic Pact is to be implemented, the Greece-Turkey Program sustained, and our own defenses kept in measure with the weight of the obligations that we have assumed.

". . . Our State Department has obviously concluded that in the present economic and political contrast Europe has the big priority. . . .

"The 'wait-and-see' policy, however, will not solve our problems in the Pacific, and sooner or later we will have to face them. . . . .

"Will we recognize and try to do business with a Communist government in China? Will we support or oppose its admission to the United Nations? What will be our attitude toward splinter groups that refuse to surrender? What will we do about great and good Chinese in this country as officers of the Government of China, such as, for example, the Chinese ambassador, if they refuse to submit to the dictatorship of Mao Tze-tung? What will we do when Mao demands that we deport Mme. Chiang Kai-shek as a 'war criminal?'

"What will we do about Formosa and its place in Far Eastern defense?

"Those are immediate problems, and there are some long-range ones as well. What do we do about our historic policy of the Open Door in China? What do we do about our historic and often-repeated policy of support for a free, strong and independent China? What do we do about our commitment in the Nine-Power Pacific Treaty to respect the political sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of China in the face of probable Soviet annexations? And in that connection, what do we do about our proclaimed policy of opposing the spread of Communism and assisting free peoples to remain free?

"Those questions will have to be answered. Wait and see won't answer them. If we bow to hard compulsion now, let us at the least not delude ourselves that we have acted with full freedom of choice or in entire consistency with either our positions of the past or our hopes for the future."

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Military Budget

THE *Baltimore Sun* expressed concern over the fact that the United States may bite off more than it can chew in the way of military expenditures. Commenting on the action of the House Appropriations Committee in increasing the military budget proposed by the Administration, the *Sun* said:

"The House Appropriation Committee, disregarding the ceiling set by President Truman, has voted $15,909,116,000 for national defense. The Committee added approximately $800,000,000 to build up the Air Force immediately to 58 groups, thus giving it a good start toward its ultimate goal of 70 groups. Stress is laid on the fact that the Air Force is now credited with being our first line of defense.

"It is a question, however, whether in this instance President Truman may not be right and Congress wrong. At least there is a serious question whether a so-called 'air-minded' House Committee should commit the Government to an increased defense expenditure apparently with little consideration for other costly and pressing obligations.

"Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, has within the last few days solemnly warned that the national economy is not capable of bearing an unlimited burden. If we are to avoid financial and economic disaster, we must give attention to what we can afford to spend.

"On Friday, the Senate, by an overwhelming majority, authorized a $5,580,000,000 fifteen-month extension of the Marshall Plan. While that amount has not been appropriated, authorization means that it is what we expect it may well cost.

"Meanwhile, also, the Atlantic Pact, which we have just signed, involves the providing of both material and cash by the United States to assist the nations allied with us to rearm. Our total outlay for this purpose has not yet been definitely estimated.

"The Atlantic Pact is designed to achieve joint defense. Under it we should cease to bear the sole burden and responsibility. Consequently it is reasonable for the American people to assume that to some extent the cost of military aid to our Allies will be subtracted from the cost of maintaining our own armed forces, yet, on the contrary, here is the House Appropriations Committee adding more money to the budget instead of reducing it.

"This matter should receive careful review before final action is taken. An air force, no matter how large (and for that matter any other branch of the services), would be a poor defense if in the process of its creation the nation should become bankrupt and its economy enfeebled."

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Emerging Germany

THE *New York Herald Tribune* acknowledged the criticism from various sources over the occupation statute drawn up by the US, Great Britain and France to govern their relations with Western Germany but felt it was the best that could be done under the circumstances. The paper said:

"The occupation statute. . . . has not met with universal approval. Aside from the mechanical (and ironical) Russian allegation that the statute constitutes a 'dictatorship,' the French press appears more resigned than enthusiastic and some German newspapers have been openly critical. The [illegible] of course, are inclined to be[illegible] the Washington agreement 'era[illegible]' quickly certain logical and p[illegible] consequences' of Germany's defea[illegible] while the Germans feel the erasure is neither speedy nor extensive enough. But it is difficult to see how the Western victors, given the conditions now prevailing in Europe, could have done much more or much less in facilitating the re-emergence of Germany as a nation."

What Chinese Papers Say

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"We can see that the Communists want to use the sugar-coated term of 'peaceful crossing' to enable their army to cross the River without losing a single man, and that they take this move not for the realization of peace, but rather for forcing the Government to surrender. The Government has made concessions to the utmost limit. And if all these concessions should still result in its having to surrender, then the peace talks for which so much effort has been spent and time wasted may just as well be dispensed with.

"At this moment when the peace talks are approaching the decisive stage, we must reiterate the point that there is a distinctive difference between peace and surrender, and that the two issues must not be confused. In the Communist-proposed Draft Peace Agreement, all conditions which are conducive to peace will, we hope, be given consideration by the Government in keeping with its spirit of tolerance in the interests of the State, but those demands which only force the Government into accepting a disguised surrender must be rejected. Levity and indecision must be avoided as they will lead to national disaster.

"The Peace Agreement to be concluded affects the history and the fate of the nation for centuries to come, and is not only a matter of concern for a couple of political parties. We seriously hope that the Government will adhere strictly to its established stand in seeking genuine peace. If the Chinese Communists really have the interests of the people at heart, they should withdraw their unreasonable demands, delete such conditions which appear to be a call to surrender, so as to remove the obstacles to peace, and show the people their sincerity in seeking peace."

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US Policy

THE *Yi Shih Pao*, mouthpiece of the Chinese Catholic Church, commented on Dean Acheson's letter to the Senate Foreign Relations Commission and came to the conclusion that US policy toward China is based on wishful thinking.

The State Department is obviously still maintaining its "wait-and-see" policy. The recently published letter from State Secretary Acheson to Chairman Tom Connally of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has aroused the severe criticism of a portion of the Senate....

"In the interests of the United States herself, it is possible that at a time when China's diplomatic policy may be subject to a change, increased aid to China would be considered a risky waste, and that it will be better to wait for the clarification of the China situation when the results of such aid may be more certain. In such a case, what should have been said should be that the United States would consider increased aid to China if there were factual guarantees that China would strengthen her friendly relations with the United States and would not change her present foreign policy, while on the other hand, should a Coalition Government be formed in China, American aid would be withdrawn.

"It is not our contention that the United States should not adopt the attitude as expressed by Acheson in his letter. But we wish to ask the United States: of the above two possibilities, which one does she expect, and what preparations are being made to promote its realization? While the United States may be going all out in Europe and adopting a strong stand there toward the Soviet Union, in China she has shown herself to be extraordinarily weak. The *United Press* reported from Washington on April 17 that American diplomatic officials believe the mounting tide of Asiatic nationalism will keep Russia from dominating China even if the Communists score a clearcut victory in the Chinese civil war.

"US China policy today, therefore, is not really the so-called "wait-and-see" policy, but rather one built on an illusion, the illusion that even if the Communists win the war in China, the Soviet Union will fail to exercise control over this country. Anybody with common sense will realize the futility of such a dream, and it is unbelievable that the United States, the leading power in the world, can tolerate the existence of such wishful thinking, such defeatism."

* * *

Trade With North

THE *Ta Kung Pao* deplored the delay in renewing normal trade between Shanghai and Communist-held North China and pointed out that this only benefited the British colony of Hongkong.

"An analysis of the situation of Sino-Hongkong trade reveals a point of great significance. The bulk of Hongkong's foreign trade has always been with China. Of the three major areas of North China, Central China and South China, normally, Hongkong's trade with Central China has been the smallest. Hongkong's trade with South China, normally the most brisk, has been steadily declining, while North China, formerly holding second place in Hongkong's foreign trade situation, is steadily increasing the volume of business transacted. The statistical figures for 1947 and 1948, which showed first a decline in trade with North China followed by an increase, reflected the change in the military situation in North China and Manchuria. By 1949, Hongkong's trade with North China has become especially brisk....

"At one period, Hongkong dealt extensively in trade with North Korea. As a matter of fact, this trade was directed with the Communist areas in Manchuria. Now that the situation has changed, North Korea no longer needs to serve as a bridge for Hongkong-Manchuria trade relations, while the economic deadlock between the North and the South only serves to increase the importance of Hongkong as an entrepot, though its position had undergone a period of decline lately. The recent excessive increase of Hongkong's trade with North China is an abnormal phenomenon which has been made possible through Hongkong's taking over of more than 50 percent of the trade of Shanghai.

What US Papers Say

THE latest statement of US policy on aid to China, as contained in the letter written by US Secretary of State Dean Acheson to Senator Connally, was widely noted in the US press. Other comment dealt with US defense appropriations and US policy in western Germany.

* * *

Acheson Letter

THE *New York Times* said Secretary Acheson's letter, which set forth his objections to the McCarran bill calling for US$1,500,000,000 in aid to China, "confirms what has apparently been an attitude of many months, a wait-and-see or wait-for-the-dust-to-settle policy." The *Times* continued:

"The allocation of the $54,000,000, already appropriated but not expended, does not contradict that policy since this is obviously a token payment designed primarily to show American faith. The Secretary made it quite plain that as far as aid plans were concerned, the Government of China had been written off at least for the time being.

"That policy will get a mixed reception in the United States. It will be vigorously applauded by the Communists, the fellow-travellers, the Isolationists, the apologists for Chinese agrarian reforms, the critics of President Chiang Kai-shek and many persons who feel that our ability to give foreign aid has already gone beyond reasonable capacity. The policy will be deplored and assailed by a considerable body of friends of China, who will regard it as faithless and defeatist. It will, we believe, be reluctantly and ruefully accepted by many thoughtful persons as probably the only thing that can be done under the circumstances.

"Unhappily, those circumstances are in part of our own making. We are paying the price for the mistakes and indecisions of several years beginning, perhaps, with the tragedy at Yalta (if not earlier) and continuing through three years of misappraisal of the real issues in China. But another and very compelling circumstance is the very heavy commitment that we have made, and made rightly, in respect to Europe. We have involved a substantial amount of our resources in the Marshall Plan and we will be called upon to make further involvements if the Atlantic Pact is to be implemented, the Greece-Turkey Program sustained, and our own defenses kept in measure with the weight of the obligations that we have assumed.

". . . Our State Department has obviously concluded that in the present economic and political contrast Europe has the big priority. . . .

"The 'wait-and-see' policy, however, will not solve our problems in the Pacific, and sooner or later we will have to face them. . . . .

"Will we recognize and try to do business with a Communist government in China? Will we support or oppose its admission to the United Nations? What will be our attitude toward splinter groups that refuse to surrender? What will we do about great and good Chinese in this country as officers of the Government of China, such as, for example, the Chinese ambassador, if they refuse to submit to the dictatorship of Mao Tze-tung? What will we do when Mao demands that we deport Mme. Chiang Kai-shek as a 'war criminal?'

"What will we do about Formosa and its place in Far Eastern defense?

"Those are immediate problems, and there are some long-range ones as well. What do we do about our historic policy of the Open Door in China? What do we do about our historic and often-repeated policy of support for a free, strong and independent China? What do we do about our commitment in the Nine-Power Pacific Treaty to respect the political sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of China in the face of probable Soviet annexations? And in that connection, what do we do about our proclaimed policy of opposing the spread of Communism and assisting free peoples to remain free?

"Those questions will have to be answered. Wait and see won't answer them. If we bow to hard compulsion now, let us at the least not delude ourselves that we have acted with full freedom of choice or in entire consistency with either our positions of the past or our hopes for the future."

* * *

Military Budget

THE *Baltimore Sun* expressed concern over the fact that the United States may bite off more than it can chew in the way of military expenditures. Commenting on the action of the House Appropriations Committee in increasing the military budget proposed by the Administration, the *Sun* said:

"The House Appropriation Committee, disregarding the ceiling set by President Truman, has voted $15,909,116,000 for national defense. The Committee added approximately $800,000,000 to build up the Air Force immediately to 58 groups, thus giving it a good start toward its ultimate goal of 70 groups. Stress is laid on the fact that the Air Force is now credited with being our first line of defense.

"It is a question, however, whether in this instance President Truman may not be right and Congress wrong. At least there is a serious question whether a so-called 'air-minded' House Committee should commit the Government to an increased defense expenditure apparently with little consideration for other costly and pressing obligations.

"Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, has within the last few days solemnly warned that the national economy is not capable of bearing an unlimited burden. If we are to avoid financial and economic disaster, we must give attention to what we can afford to spend.

"On Friday, the Senate, by an overwhelming majority, authorized a $5,580,000,000 fifteen-month extension of the Marshall Plan. While that amount has not been appropriated, authorization means that it is what we expect it may well cost.

"Meanwhile, also, the Atlantic Pact, which we have just signed, involves the providing of both material and cash by the United States to assist the nations allied with us to rearm. Our total outlay for this purpose has not yet been definitely estimated.

"The Atlantic Pact is designed to achieve joint defense. Under it we should cease to bear the sole burden and responsibility. Consequently it is reasonable for the American people to assume that to some extent the cost of military aid to our Allies will be subtracted from the cost of maintaining our own armed forces, yet, on the contrary, here is the House Appropriations Committee adding more money to the budget instead of reducing it.

"This matter should receive careful review before final action is taken. An air force, no matter how large (and for that matter any other branch of the services), would be a poor defense if in the process of its creation the nation should become bankrupt and its economy enfeebled."

* * *

Emerging Germany

THE *New York Herald Tribune* acknowledged the criticism from various sources over the occupation statute drawn up by the US, Great Britain and France to govern their relations with Western Germany but felt it was the best that could be done under the circumstances. The paper said:

"The occupation statute....has not met with universal approval. Aside from the mechanical (and ironical) Russian allegation that the statute constitutes a 'dictatorship,' the French press appears more resigned than enthusiastic and some German newspapers have been openly critical. The French, of course, are inclined to believe that the Washington agreement 'erases rather quickly certain logical and proper consequences' of Germany's defeat, while the Germans feel the erasure is neither speedy nor extensive enough. But it is difficult to see how the Western victors, given the conditions now prevailing in Europe, could have done much more or much less in facilitating the re-emergence of Germany as a nation."

The Review's English Lesson—LXXIX

Idiomatic English

EVERY language has many expressions that cannot be translated. These must be learned in their entirety, like words, as part of the vocabulary. At first you naturally speak English as a translation of Chinese, but you overcome this as you learn the English phrases and methods of expression. Speaking a language is very important. When you have used a word correctly enough times in your daily speech, it becomes a part of your vocabulary. This is particularly true of the type of expressions we are discussing.

There are three classes of such expressions. The most generally acceptable expressions, which are a natural part of the language, are idioms. A good example is the phrase "to take a walk". A literal translation of the similar Spanish phrase is "to give a walk" and the French becomes in English "to make a walk". How would the Chinese be translated? You can see that a large part of a language would sound very awkward if translated word for word. It is that very part that gives character to a language. That is why translations of foreign writings so seldom translate the writer's genius. To study English it is much better to read English authors than English translations of even the most famous Western writers.

Expressions which are used throughout definitely limited geographical areas are called colloquialisms. They belong to the dialect, which is not merely a matter of pronounciation, but a whole way of speech. For example, the phrase "you-all" used as the plural of "you" is common throughout the southern part of the United States, but is seldom heard elsewhere.

The least acceptable of the expressions we are discussing is slang. Slang generally develops in one of two ways. One is as the language "costume" of a group. People like to identify themselves as members of groups, and to do so they often wear emblems or pins, or dress, behave or speak in a particular manner. Such speech may contain merely a few odd phrases, or it may be almost a new language. It may identify an age group (teen-agers), an occupational group (Army), a group bound by the same social and educational background, or national minorities which bring much of their mother tongue into their adopted language. For example, the Pennsylvania Dutch speak such English as "The Kuh is over the Fence ge-jumped."

* * *

ANY living language changes constantly, at the pace of a slow waltz. Slang is a jitterbug. The most picturesque slang changes the fastest. That is why it is dangerous to use such slang phrases unless you are in constant contact with the group which originates them. Expressions that may have been smart when some of our readers learned them during the war would be out of date today. If you read Thackery, you will find that 200 years ago the younger set used slang just as much as today, but their expressions would sound very peculiar now.

Very often slang arises out of laziness and sloppy thinking habits. The meaning of the work "cute" can be fairly well understood depending on what you are describing. It saves having to think up a more exact description. Similarly, "quite a set-up" can mean an extensive organization, a distinctive display, a well-furnished apartment, a carefully planned project, or any number of things. You can see the danger of this type of slang to anyone trying to learn a new language. It paralyzes his vocabulary and confines his brain to a wheel-chair. It is better to be too meticulous than to over indulge in slang expressions.

A SINGLE word takes on a different shade of meaning when used in a combination. Study the following examples and try to decide which are idiomatic speech and which are probably slang.

To set means to place, to put, and a set is a matched group, as a set of dishes. To **set up** means to organize or to arrange. As a noun it can mean almost any kind of organization or arrangement. Examples are: "He set himself up for a gentleman"; "He set up his offices in town"; "Set up your equipment carefully"; "Set them up!" (a phrase used in ordering drinks.)

To **set down** usually means to make a record of, e.g. "He set down his thoughts on paper"; "He set down the receipts in the books."

A **set back** is a reverse of fortune, and as a verb means to score against, e.g. "The armies suffered a serious set back in today's fighting"; "His remark set her back on her heels."

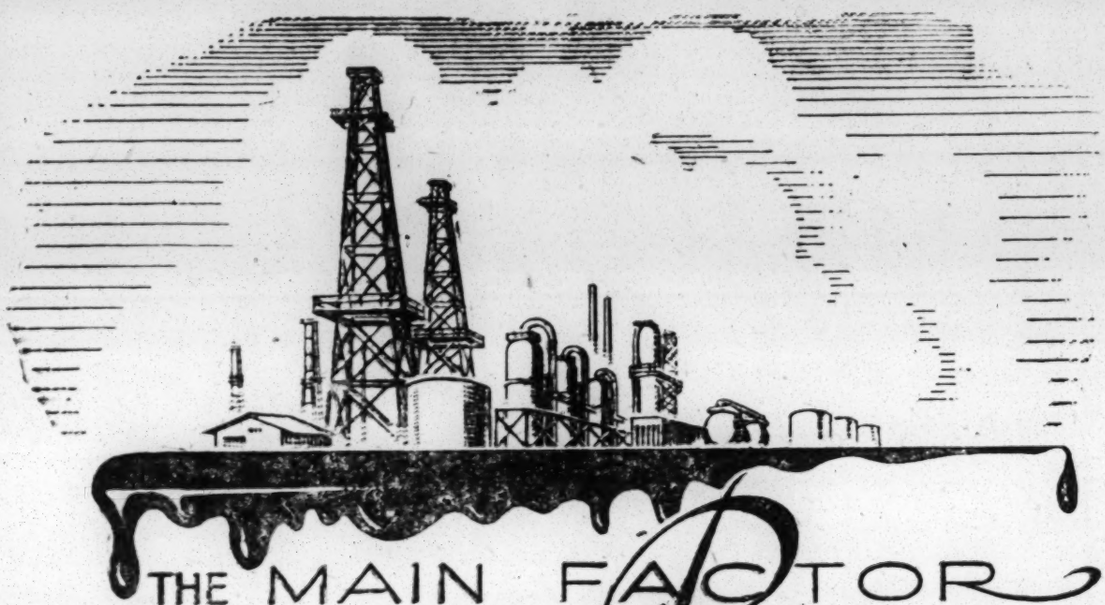
To **set forth** means to start or to state, e.g. "He set forth on his journey"; "He set forth his plan".

To **set to** means to begin, or as a noun, can mean a fight, e.g. "They set to work"; "He set himself to the task"; "That was quite a set to back there."

A **setting hen** (setty hen) is one which is "setting" (never sitting) on eggs to hatch them. To **set the table** (lay the table) is to arrange the utensils for eating. To **set to rights** is to correct, or sometimes to take revenge. To **set the clock** is to turn the clock to a certain time.

Right usually means correct. **Rights** are privileges. **Upright** means standing straight. Describing a character, it means virtuous, as in "an upright man". **Downright** means really, quite, e.g. "That was downright mean of him." **Forthright** means outspoken. **Outright** means completely, e.g. outright ownership. **Squatters' rights** are the semi-legal privileges extended to people who set up housekeeping on other people's land. The **right of way** is the privilege of passing or travelling through. If you cross the street against a red light you do not have the right of way. If you have to pass through another person's yard to reach your house, you are using a right of way.

What other phrases can you think of which use these two words?



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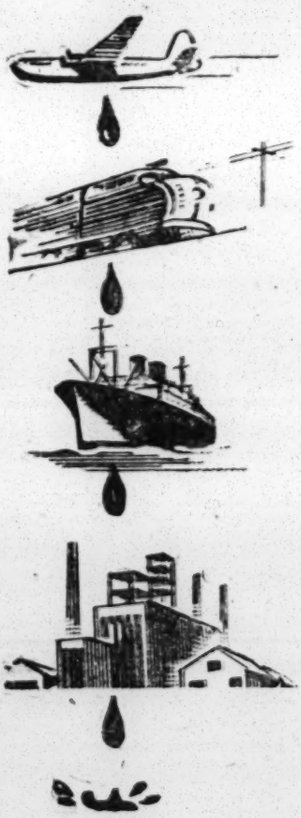

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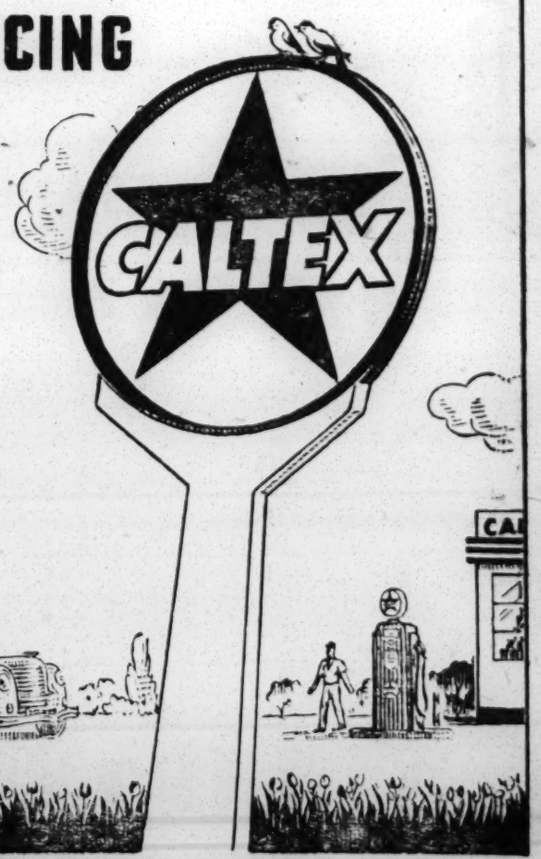

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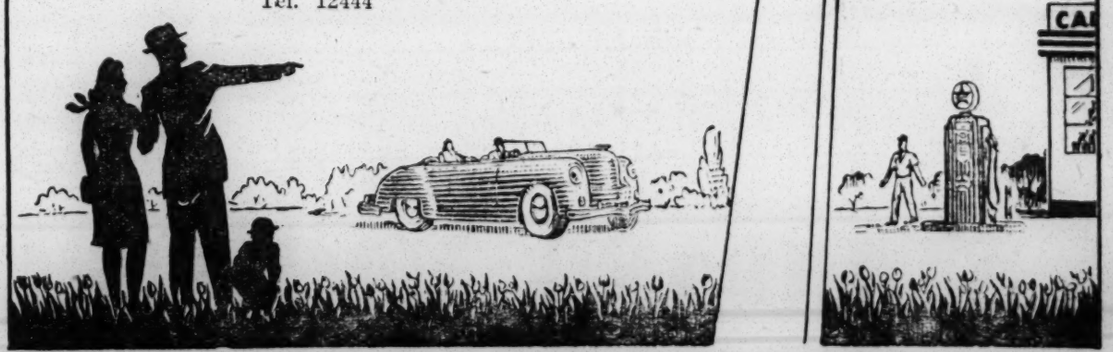

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